

# AN EPISTLE OF THE PERSECVTION OF CATHOLICKES IN EN- glande.

*Translated ouvt of frenche into Englishe and  
conferred vvithe the Latyne copie. by. G. T.*

To whiche there is added an epistle by  
the translator to the right honorable  
Lordes of her maiesties preeuie coun-  
cell towchyng the same matter.

*Psal. 105. Ver. 38.*

They shed innocent blood, euen the blood  
of theyr ovvne sonnes and of theyr  
ovvne daughters.

*Psal. 78. Ver. 2.*

*They lay the deade bodyes of thy seruantes ( O Lorde )  
for meate to the foules of the ayer, and the fleshe  
of thy saines to the beastes of the field.*

Imprynted at Douay in Artois.

Th.  
8<sup>o</sup> E. 4.  
B 5









TO THE HONORABLE  
LORDS OF HER  
MAIESTIES PREEVIE  
COUNCELL.



INDINGE this epistle of the persecution of Englande, divulged in diuers foraine languages, Right honorable: I vvas moued bothe to translate it to my countrie men, vvhome properlye it concernethe:

& to directe it to your Lordships, to vvhome principallye it appertaineth. My entent herein vvas simple and plaine: First to procure good mens prayers, by disclosinge our necessities, secondlie, to moue your honours at lenght, (if it might bee,) to some fauorable & mercifull consideration of our calamities: vvhicke perhaps in some parte are more particulerlye declared in this discourse, then euerie one of your honours hathe ether knowv̄e or cōsidered of heretofore.

For albeit vve are not ignorant, that our afflictions and persecutions do passe vppon vs, bothe in name & authoritie as from your Lordships: yet knowv vve also, that you are not alvvayes preevie to euerye our particuler agreeement and hard vsage, nor if you vv̄ere, (beinge vvysse and honorable) vvoulde allowe of the same.

VVherefore seinge the treatise followinge



## THE EPISTLE

ys vvritten by a man, bothe of greate modestie, as appeareth, by his style, and also of good intelligence in Englishe matters past, as it maye seme by the particulers by him alleaged: I doe most humblye beseeche your honours, to lend the labour of readinge ouer the same, and to consider in your ovvne cōsciences, before the dreadfull maiestie of our lord and Sauyours, to vvwhose iustice bothe you and vve remaine accountable for our doinges in this lyfe, vvwhether the sufferinges of Catholiques heere recited, deserue complaint of our syde and of your honours parte, consideration or no. It is a lavvfull and allowvable refuge deliuered vs by nature her selfe, to mourne and bevvayle in time of affliction, and to barre vs of this, ether by offence or punishment, vvhere as harde as to prohibite the sicke man to grone, or the childe to pule vvhiche is greevousslye beaten. If vve grone vvithout greefe, or complayne vvithout cause: vve are vvnvvorthye of compassion, and deserue no redresse: but if our case be suche, as it moueth admiration to as manie as heare it; and no small horror to them vvhiche consider it: vve hope your Lordships, beinge our borne peeres and Nobles of our nation, vvil not alvvayes beare your selues more compassionles tovwards our miseries, then straungers vvho haue lesse cause in nature to affecte vs.

Enter in (my good Lordes) I beseeche you on my knees even for his sake of vvhome you also muste one daye craue mercye, enter in (I say) but to some small cogitation, vvhat you do: to vvhome: for vvhat cause to vvhat ende.

You persecute heauylye, and that in suche

## TO THE GOVNCELL

measure as the lyke hath scarce ben mentioned in Christianitie before, albeit in some pointes more couertlye then some other did. And as for the disciplyne of the Catholique Church, vvhiche is commonly accustomed to be laied against vs, vvhcreby she punishethe new fangled deuisers, and obstinate bringers in of new religion, it hath no comparison at all wvith this of yours: for first, that disciplyne is olde and auncient, and allowed by your ovvne practice of burninge other sectaries then of the parte of Caluine. VVhereby it followveth, that our Church hauinge condemned as orderlie Iohn Calvine and his followvers, in her late generall and most learned Councell, as she hath donne other sectaries executed by your selues: yf she punish also Calvinistes amonge other sectaries: she is no more to be blamed for the same in indifferencie of reason, then your parte for burninge Anabaptistes familiars or the lyke.

Vvbat per  
secutio Ca  
tholiques  
suffer.

Secondlye if vve compare the proceedinges of Catholiques to protestantes generallie, or of Englishe Catholiques, to vvarde them of Caluins parte in Queene Maries tyme, (for that is most of all brought and vrged against vs: ) vve shall finde that in all respectes, this far to surmounte and to ouer reache that, and to be bothe greater, and incomparablye more greuouse.

The cōpa  
rison of  
this perse  
cution to  
that in  
Queene  
Maryes ty  
me.

For first ether fevv or none vvere tovvched then, but suche as vvere ether obstinate, or malicious, or vvilfull to intrude them selues: and howe infinite manie vvere tollerated, and vvinked at, although they vvere knowven, some of your honours (I thinke) vvill not denie to geue



particuler testimonye. Secondlie they vvhiche vvere complained of, and attached, vvere ciuillie dealt vvithall, disputed vvith at large bothe publickelye and priuatelye, made to see their vveaknes, though not to cōfesse the same: and if sentence passed against them for obstinacie, yet vvas their execution, vvith all fauorable compassion, vvhiche the lawe did permit, and mitigation of their paines vvith the shorte dispathe: the contrarie of all vvhiche is vsed tovvards vs. And as for tormentinge and rackinge and prohibitinge their frinds from sustaininge them, vvith the terrour to all those vvhiche shoulde bodilye releue their pouertie: I thinke our aduersaries vvill not once charge vs vvith it. It is not practized amongst vs, vvpon the greatest heretiques that euer vvere: God for bid that it shoulde, it is to cruell for Christian natures. VVe are commaunded by our religion, to feede the hungrye, as Christ him selfe, and muche more, not to barr them that vvoulde geue releefe, vvhen vve vvill not. Finallye, if vve confer numbers to numbers, men to men, prisons to prisons, vsage to vsage, there is no comparison.

Matth. 27.

Esa. 58.

Differēces  
betvvixt  
the puni-  
shed prote-  
stantes and  
Catholi-  
ques.

And yet (good Lorde) vvhat kyn or liknes is there in the matter? they vvere punished by an auncient generall lawe, for brynginge in of new opinions, neuer hard of in England before, and condemned by the highe Consistorie and parlament of Christiandome, gathered together for the same purpose. VVe are persecuted by new nationall Statutes, for holdinge the auncient faith of Christianitie, and onelie religion of our forefathers in England, vvithout either

tryall or publique disputation in our doctrine. They dissented not onlie from vs, but also from the first beginners of their ovvne side, and vvere solemlye condemned for heretiques by the same. but no suche matter can be saied of vs. They agreed not amongst them selues vppon the pointes of anie one relygion, but eche man as he had receaued of some particuler teacher. So beinge asked (for Example sake) of the number of Sacramentes: <sup>a</sup> some helde tvyo, vvithe Caluinites, some three or fover vvithe Melancthon. So me three or tvyo, or one vvithe <sup>b</sup> Luther. And if they vvere demaunded of particuler sacramentes, as of penance: one vvoulde holde it no sacrament vvithe Calvin, an other a sacrament vvithe Melancthon, an other onelye a sacramental signe vvithe <sup>c</sup> Luther in one place, and in an other, a verye <sup>d</sup> trevv sacramēt hauinge annexed vnto it, the promise of grace. If they vvere asked of holy orders: one vvoulde deny it to be a sacrament vvith Luther and Melancthon in one place, and an other vvoulde holde it a trevv sacrament vvithe Melancthon in an <sup>e</sup> other place. Some other vvoulde holde it an vnordinarie sacrament vvithe <sup>f</sup> Caluine, and thus as sheepe brought ovvt of their folde, and left amazed in the brode filde, not knowinge vvhat vvaye or pathe to take, they stood giddie in their ovvne opinions, and yet vvith obstinacye euerie man to dye in the same: but vve stand all in one faith consonant to it selfe in euerie point, not deuised by our selues, but left vnto vs by the generall consent of all antiquitie in Christian dome, and yet are vve more afflicted for the

By Luther: ar. 28. cont. Louā. to. 2. Vvitten. fo. 503. also by the Edict of the princes of māsfilde anno 1560. and by others. a. He holde th three in apolog. confes. August. cap. de sacra. And fover in editione vl. loco. cō. b. So he holde the in the beginninge and end of his captiuitie of. Babilō: c. So he holde the in lib. de ca. Babi. d. So he holde the expresselie ar. 35 cont. Lo uan: e. in edi: vl. locorū cō. f. li: 4: c: 14:



## THE EPISTLE

same, then if vve were heretiques or deuifers of anie new religion.

The persons persecuted.

The persons punished by your honours are of your ovne bloud, and nation, borne subiectes of the lande, and commonlye of suche lyfe and conuersation, as are not worst lyked in the places vwhere they dwell: of quiet and ciuill behauiour. most readie bothe vvithe lyfe & goods to serue their Princesse, and your honours, vwith all deuotifull and faithfull good vill. They neither deale nor practise agaynst the state abroad, nor offer iniuries to their neighbours at home. But are most readye and vwillinge to concurre vvithe your Lordships, for the preseruinge theyr Countrye in peace and quiet, eche man accordinge to his povver & callinge. The onlie cause of their molestation, is their conscience in religion, vvhiche beinge setled vpon inuincible grounds, as it semethe to them, is not in their povver to alter at their pleasure, neither is any persecution in the worde, able to change the same, but rather confirmethe it more & more, bringinge alwaies an argument vvithe it, of lacke of truthe in the persecutor, vvhiche seekethe to supply by externall terror the thyng he is not able to proue by argument.

The cause of persecution.

The ende of this persecution.

The ende therfore vvhiche your Lordships pretende by this rigourouse course of austeritie to vitt, to bringe men to conformitie in matters of religion, can neuer doubtles take effect by this meanes, but must nedes make greater diuinction, for the reasons by me declared before. And if your honoure shoulde vpon terroure bringe any fraile man to conforme him selfe

## TO THE COUNCELL.

against his conscience, in suche externall actes,  
as you require: yet your vvifdomes can not but  
confider, that he is neuer the nearer gotten for  
this, but rather in his harte muche farther of  
then before, hauinge vvounded his soule and  
conscience vppon compulsion, vvliche lyinge  
greuouse and festeringe vvith in his breast, must  
needes often put him in mynde of the iniurye  
receaued, and so more detest the thyng done,  
then before. VVherfore seinge there is nothinge  
gotten to your Lordships entent, by this mans  
dissimulation, but muche lost often tymes vnto  
him selfe, euen as muche as the price of his soule  
for doinge against his conscience and iudgemēt,  
vvherby he must be tried at the latter daye: the-  
re is no cause ether in respect of pollicie or re-  
ligion, vvwhich maie persvvade vs, that your ho-  
nours vvill alvvayes holde this heauie and ex-  
treame rase tvvardes vs.

And because I fall into the mention here of Polycie.  
polycie, vvherunto I knowve your honours, (as  
very vvise,) to haue a speciall eye and particu-  
ler regarde, albeit I presume not to pretende a-  
ny part of that profounde iudgement, vvliche  
your honorable vvifedomes by nature and lon-  
ge practise haue attained in the same: yet to say  
that, vvwhich common reason layethe oppen to  
euerye meane vnderstandinge: it appeareth  
no vvaie to impeache polycie (if respect of con-  
science vvere laide aside) to proceede some  
vvhat mylder vvith the Catholique parte in  
Englande.

I vvill not talke of intrinsecall and speciall  
pointes, mentioned heretofore by some other, by M. I.  
hovvlet: &  
M. D. Allen



& easie to be considered of by your Lordships, as the counterpesinge of other sectes, and dangerous factions, growvinge and confirminge by the quiet they enioye through our onlie molestations. I vwill speake onlie of the nature of our Catholique religion, vvhiche as it vvas first plotted ovvt by the most highe vvisedome of God him selfe, that is, by his Sonne our Sauour, and founded by them vvhiche immediatlye receaued their spirite from him, that is, by his Apostles, and disciples: so standeth it substantiallie, vvith all right vvisedome and polycie, ) beinge giftes of God and litle sparkles of his infinite vvisedome ) and establissheth the kingdomes vvherein it is receaued and executed accordinglie, in all honour, peace, tranquillitie and vvealthe, as may appeare by the longe continuance of other Realmes Catholique abroad, and especiallie by our ovvne, vvhiche hath continued from the beginninge of her conuersion, for the space of more then a Thovvsande yeres, in greate prosperitie, riches, and renovvne by the same. Vvhereas in the meane space, diuers greate kyngdomes, states, and principalities, haue ben ouerthrowen by the occasion of heresie and alteringe this religion, as Asia, Greece, Egypt, Affrica, Hungarie, and the like: and vvhat vvill finallie become of diuers other cuntryes neere vnto vs and as yet lyinge vnder the tryall of Gods hande, though alreadie greatly rased, spoyled, and impouerished, vve can not tell.

The different effectes of heresie and Catho

And the reason of these different effectes in heresye and in the Catholique religion, besydes the particuler prouidence of God, stande-

## TO THE COUNCELL 11

the principallie in this one point, that vve ha-  
 ue a certayne and sure meane to kepe vnitie and  
 consent thorovvgh ovvt the vvhole, by vnder-  
 standinge scriptures accordinge to the exposi-  
 tions of our forefathers from tyme to tyme, and  
 by obeyinge the determination of one Supre-  
 me pastor, vvith the generall Councils of Chri-  
 stian prelates, in all matter of stryfe that may  
 fall ovvt. VVheras the heretique in the cōtrarye  
 parte, obeyinge no pastor, but at his pleasure,  
 nor receauinge anie mans exposition of scrip-  
 ture but his ovvne, must nedes rayse and main-  
 tayne much contrarietie of opinions, and conse-  
 quent'lye muche deuision of people by the same:  
 and then hauinge no place to rest, nor vvaye to  
 end (for generall Councell or pastor he vvil not  
 heare), also makinge the temporall prince hed  
 of all, vvhicke often tymes is a childe, and may  
 easelie be impelled to varietie of humours: must  
 nedes make greate innouations, vvhicke alvvay-  
 es are greate hazardes to kingedomes and sta-  
 tes. And this in generall is betvvixt our religion  
 and others tovvchinge the matter of Common-  
 vvealthe.

But novv, if vve looke into certayne parti-  
 cular commodities and helpes vvwhich our reli-  
 gion bringeth vnto a common vvealthe, and  
 vvhicke the religiō of our aduersaries impug-  
 nethe and ouerthrowveth: vve shall easelie, see  
 that permission of the Catholique, can not any  
 vvay preiudicate the vveale publique of any  
 state. And for examples sake, vve vvill make our  
 comparison in Englande it selfe, vvhere the pra-  
 ctise and effect of bothe religiōs haue byn novv

lique reli-  
 gion tovv-  
 chinge the  
 vveale pa-  
 blique.

Particular  
 differences  
 betvvixt  
 Catholi-  
 que & pro-  
 testant reli-  
 gion, for  
 maintainan-  
 ce & conti-  
 nuance of  
 the cōmon  
 vvealthe.



## THE EPISTLE

experienced, and dyuers men yet alyue, that haue scene and proued the consequence of bothe, and can the easyer geue iudgement of the comparison.

1. Restitu-  
tion.

First therefore, our religion teacheth the actuall restitution of all goods vvhath so euer, ether vvrōgfullye or decaitfullye gotten, or taken by might or iniurye. And it teacheth this restitution in suche seuerer manner, as no priest may absolue anie man from his sinnes duringe his lyfe, nor admitt him to any Sacrament, no nor at the extreame point of deathe it selfe, ( vvhether not vwithstandinge all other matters are released ) except he be content to make actuall restitution ( accordinge to his abilitie ) to the partie iniured: nether can anye mortall powver, or prelate of the Church, dispense in this point, vvhether the vwill of restitution is not, but that suche a one dyinge, is accounted a reprobate and damned person, and not to be praied for by our Church, of vvhiche thinge doe ensue tivo greate commodities to the common vvealth.

tivo com-  
modities  
of restitu-  
tion.

First that men knowinge they must make this restitution againe, if euer they be able, are muche staied from extortion, thefte, bryberye, vsurye, Simonie and the like offences, vvhiche temporall lawes of them selues can neuer thoroughlie bridle. Secondlie that manie restitutiōs are made daile to parties vvrōged in our Church, at leste vvhise vvhē mē come to dye: & of this I could heere alleage bothe rare & marvelous examples.

But for the protestant, he troubleth hym selfe litle aboute this matter, nether hathe he



## TO THE COVNCELL:

any meanes in deed to do the same ( confession beinge taken avvaie) and the practise is so strange amongst them, as you shall reade in the storre folovvinge, a good man punished fover yeres in the Towver of London, for restoringe of twentie pövvndes for an other man after his death.

Secondlie our religion teacheth the obseruation of vovves, that is, that vvho so euer hath made a vovv to God, of a thinge, honest, lavvfull and possible: is bounde to keepe it, accordinge as the scripture biddeth vs: *Vovvete & reddite domino: vovv* and paye your vovves to God. Of vv-liche our churche inferreth, that seinge our promise to our neighbour, is also a kinde of vovv, vve are bounde in like sorte to keepe that for cöscience sake: muche more then if vve stode bounde to the same by obligation, and to make devve recompence and restitution, if vve breake the same. VVherof ensued suche faithfull and trustie dealinges amongst our auncient forefathers. But novv the protestant teachinge, that vovves made to God may be broken, eche man inferreth therof, if I maye breake a vovv to god, muche more a vvorde or promise to a man, and so vve see novv no promyse or bargayne kept but onlie for commoditie, & there is no trust to mens vvordes any longer.

Thyrdlye our religion vseth the abstinence of fleshe and some other meates at certayne times and dayes, not condemninge the creatures, but forbearinge the vse ther of, for punishinge our bodies for more fervent servinge of God, at certayne tymes more thē other: as i lent, frydaies,

2. Observa-  
tion of  
vovves.

Psal. 75.

The conse-  
quent of  
keepinge  
and breake-  
kinge of  
vovves.

4 Abstinen-  
ce from fle-  
she.

Saterdayes, and other, as is appointed by our church, vvhiche daies beinge in number very neere 160, that is, almost the one halfe of the yere, besides the obseruances of religious people, vvherof many neuer eate fleshe at all, and besides the particuler deuotions of infinite priuate persōs vvhiche abstaine at certayne other times: doe brynge an inestimable commoditie vnto a vveale publique. For that fishe, herbes, frute, and the like, vvhiche Catholiques vppon these daies do vse, do not any vvaye impouerishe the lande, beinge taken the most parte from the vvater: But consuminge of fleshe dothe, beinge vvholly fed vppon the grounde, vvhiche fleshe, by thes daies of abstinence encrease the greatlie, especiallye aboute the springe tyme, vvhen our lent falleth out, at vvhat time, by the iudgemēt of skilfull men, the forbearinge of fleshe for those onlie six vveekes, is sufficient for the maintenance of all the yere after. And vvhat auaille this abstinence bringethe to a kingdome in one yere, it maie be gessed, if a man make but an estimate vvhat the fleshe is vvorth, vvhiche vvoulde maintaine all Englande one daie, and then double the same eight score times in euerye yere, and consider vvhat it vvill amōunte to in fevv yeres.

And novv, albeit the protestant (for polycies sake onlie as he saith) vvill seeme to commaunde the like abstinence at some of thes daies: yet seyng it is but an externall punishment onlie, and no matter of conscience to breake the princes lawv therein, as they affirme: howv manye (trouv you) vvill breake the same? or howv ma-

The publi-  
que cōmo-  
ditie by ab-  
stinence frō  
fleshe.



nie protestantes them selues do obserue it? if you conuerse vvithe the preachers, you shall see them eate fleshe euerie daie, and inuite other men to do it, and iudge verie yuill of them, that vvyll not therin beare them companie. The temporall iudges also, vwhen in their lent circuite, thei publish the this verie proclamation of abstinence, do eate openlye fleshe them selues. Hovv then shall the people obserue the same, vwhen they see bothe their Ecclesiasticall and temporall gouernours to do the contrarye? the trueith is, that the exacte obseruinge of this lawv amongst higher estates, is onlie in Catholiques, as also amongst the common people, except some poore protestant that can get no fleshe, and therby is constrained to make of necessitie a vertue, for other vvise he vvill eate it euen in despite of the tyme. So that this common vvealthe point dependeth onlye in deed of the Catholique parte.

4 Fastinge.

Forverthlye our religion, besides this abstinence aforesaide from fleshe, commaundeth also many of the same dayes to be kept in fast, to the number at least of a hundred euerie yere in Englande. In vvhicke tymes there is but one meale to be made a daye, and the other to be spared, vvhicke one meale sauede beinge valued, but at a lowv price thorough ovvt all the persōs aboue xvi yeres of age in Englande, (for after that tyme they are bounde to fast), amounteth to a greate summe of monye, and beinge doubled a hundred tymes euerie yere, aryseth to muche more, vvhicke greate summe is vtterlye lost by the protestant that fasteth not, and ys saued by the Catholique to the vveal publique. VVhicke

The sequel  
of fastinge.



## THE EPISTLE.

difference albeit it be not felt presentlye in a greate state (for greate palaces shrinke not at the beginnyng vvithe litle chynkes: ) yet in time it vvill shew his effecte, vvhen greate multitudes of people shalbe by the same meanes of protestancie increased (as shalbe shewved in the next reason folovvynge ) & the olde prouision of the lande by litle & litle consumed, as alredie I thinke in parte vve see it fulfilled.

5. Sole lyfe  
of cleargye  
men.

Fifthlye our religion commaundethe continencie and sole lyfe to all cleargie men, and to all sortes of religious people, vvhicke (to omite all other respectes) profitethe greatlie the common vvealthe, and the libertie of marriage gyuen by the protestante, bringeth infinite inconueniences. For first if vve make an estimate of the number vvhicke lyued vnmarried in Catholique tymes in England, allowinge to euery parishe church butt two pryestes one vvith an other, vvith the other temporall offices dependinge of the spiritualtie, and therefore requiringe sole life: & if vve add to this, the greate numbers of all religious people, bothe men and vvomen in monasteries and other vvhere, vvhicke perhaps vvare twise as manye as the other: vve shall finde the number to arise verie greate, vvhicke all lyuinge then vnmarried and chaste (or els shoulde haue donne) if vve now allow them to marye and accouute to euery coople, butt three or fouer children, and so consequentelye to their children, and childrens children: vve shall see that the encrease of people vvill be huge in one age: and much more in manye ages follovinge, vvhicke all bringe no-  
rished

riched by the commō vvealthe, must needes pe-  
ster greatlie the lande, vvithe mayne multitude  
of people, and they, for the most parte ydle also  
(for so are clergie mens children commonlye)  
and consequentlie, muche empouerishe the  
same:

Besides this, if vve consider the necessitie of  
temporall prouisiō, cast vppon clergie men, by  
their mariage, as to prouide first for the present  
needes, and then for the tyme to come: as ioin-  
ter, deuyrye, or some portion for the vvife, ly-  
uings for the children, and the like: vve shall  
finde that they can nether keepe that hospitali-  
tie for the poore, vvhicke vvas vvont, nor spare  
the leases, copieholdes, and other offalles of  
Ecclesiasticall lyuings, to helpe other men, as  
in times past vvas accustomed: and muche lesse  
builde Colledges, Churches, and other suche  
monumentes of pietie, vvhicke their predeces-  
sours haue donne. Nay if the minister dye not,  
and leaue often a packe of orphanes vppon  
the poore parishe, it is more tollerable. So that  
vve see, that the mariage of the clergie men,  
dyuers vvayes spoileth the poore commonaltie  
and consequentlie impayreth the greatlye the  
vveal publique.

Sixthlye our religion prohibiteth landlor-  
des to rayse their rentes, or anye other vvaie to  
presse their tenants, except it vv ere vppon so-  
me greate cause and vv ithe greate moderation,  
knowven and allowved of by spirituall men &  
learned diuines, and if they do it rashelie and  
immoderatlie, our Churche dothe solemnly on-  
ce a yere accurse them. VVhicke vvas the cause

6 Raylinge  
of rentes.



Iat he bulle  
de cana do  
mini, solem  
lye recited  
by the po-  
pe euerye  
yere on mā  
dy thursda  
ye, in the ty  
tle, de peda  
giis nouis  
non impo-  
nendis:  
7 Deuorce  
mentes.  
Math. 19. 3.  
6. 7. 8.

that our good foresathers in tymes past, and es-  
speciallie all religious men, vsed to let their lan-  
des at a reasonable rate: vvhetherby infinite men  
vvere sustained and holpen., as appeareth by  
our Abbayes in tyme past in Englāde, the vvan-  
te vvhetherof the poore countries vvhiche dwell  
aboute them, do now feele.

Seuenthlye our religion holdeth to vvhin-  
ge the state of mariage, that vvhoso euer is on  
ce lawfullye contracted in vvedlocke to an  
other, albeit they maie be vppon cause deuor-  
ced from compaigninge one vvithe an other: yet  
can the bāde of mariage neuer be so broken, as  
either partye maie marye againe, duringe the o-  
thers naturall lyfe. And therfore they must  
ether reconcyle them selues together againe, or  
els lyue chaste. VVhiche is a brydell to manye  
mischeefes that must nedes ensevv vppon our  
aduersaries contrarie doctrine and practise in  
this matter, vvhoso allowe the diuorced to marye  
againe, the other partie yet lyuinge. VVhiche li-  
bertie layed open to maryed people, geueth the oc-  
casion of easie mislyke and diuorce betwixt  
them, vppō hope to marye agayne vvhether they  
like better, to the greate disturbance of com-  
mon vvealthes in processe of tyme.

8 Of obe-  
dience to  
magistrates

Eightlie, our religion teacheth a pointe  
abovv magistrates, vvhich greatlie concerne-  
the the common vvealthe, and the contrarie  
doctrine of our aduersaries, is very muche hurt  
full and daungerouse vnto the same. The point  
is this. That vve teache all lawes of magistrates  
(be the magistrate good or euill) vvhiche are of  
thinges ether good, or indifferent, or not ex-



preſſely againſt Gods commandement, doe binde the ſubieſtes conſciences to obedience, that is, the ſubieſtes are bounde in conſcience, to obey them not onlie externallie, but alſo in priuate and ſecrete, and to accounte it as a ſyn before God, if they vwillinglye breake the ſame, for that the magiſtrate vvhat ſoeuer, is Gods miniſter. VVerof it ſolovveth that the lawes of the cōmon vvealthe are obeyed trevvlie, & ſyncerelye, as vvell in ſecret as in open ſheve, vvith the loue alſo, and vvithout grudge or contempt to the magiſtrate.

Ro: 13.

But the proteſtant theachethe that no law of man byndeth the ſubieſtes conſcience to obedience, vvherof it muſte needes follovv, that ſeinge the ſubieſt obeyethe not of conſcience, but onelye for policie and in reſpect of externall puniſhment: vvhen ſo euer he is not in feare of that puniſhment, he vvithout ſcruple vvill contemne and breake that commaundement of his magiſtrate, as for example, he vvill eate fleſhe in the lent, in ſuche places and companies, vvhiſhe he is ſure, vvill not accuſe him, albeit the magiſtrates commaundement and proclamation be to the contrarie: and ſo in the lyke. VVhiſhe thinge is verye hurtfull & dangerous (as I haue ſaied) to the vveale publique. For beſides the common breakinge of publique lawes in priuate, and ſecrete places, vvherby the magiſtrate grovveth into contempt, & the ſtate hurted: if at anie tyme the ſubieſtes or any faſtion of them, ſhalbe ſo ſtronge and hardie, as not to feare the magiſtrates puniſhment, vvhat ſhall cauſe them anye longer to obey?

Caluin: L. 4.  
inſti. c. 10.  
num. 5.

This is alſo the cauſe vvhye the prince is ſo infinitely at this day deceaued in her cuſtome of matchādife by all marchantes report.

a Dangerous ſequel

Feare of punishment there is none: In conscience (by this doctrine) they are not bounde: vvhv then maie not they as vvell prescribe lawes to the magistrate, as he to them? In this pointe therefore, Catholique religion more vpholdeth the vveale publique, then that of our aduersaries.

Of synne &  
concupi-  
scence.

Jaco. 1. 15.

Ninthlye it is of no small importance vnto a Christian common vvealthe, (vvwhose end is to keepe men vvithin the limites of vertue and honestie) that vvhicke our religion teacheth of the difference of synnes, and of the nature of concupiscence. For to vvchinge the first, as vve holde, that as some synnes are greuous and mortall: so some are lighter, called veniall, that is, suche as of their nature and by rigour of iustice, deserue not eternall damnatiō, and expell not alvvaye grace, but may stande vvith the same. Mortall vve call (for exāples sake) as to be droncke: veniall, to drinke a litle more then a man shoulde. Mortall, to geue consent in a mans harte to an euill cogitation: veniall, to be negligent in expellinge the same, though he cōsent not.

Calvin. in  
an. id. con-  
cil. Tri.

Augu. li. 2.  
cont. Iulian.  
& li. 1. de  
peccat. me-  
rit. c. vlt.

Our aduersaries holde that all synnes, be they neuer so litle, are mortall of their ovvne natures, and of them selues do deserue damnation. Secondlye to vvchinge concupiscence, vve holde, that in the regenerate, that is, in Christians after baptisme, the naturall inclination of lustinge, lefte in man, *ad agnē*, as the auncient fathers doe terme it, that is, to stryue vvithall, is not synne of it selfe, except vve geue consent to the motion. Our aduersaries holde that the



verye motion it selfe though no consent be geuen vnto it, is syn.

Of this diuersitie of doctrine flowveth the greate diuersitie of effectes into the common vvealthe. For ovvt of our doctrine ensueth this, that seinge the naturall motion of concupiscence in me to euill, is not syn, except I yealde vnto it: I vvill strue against it, and not yelde consent, for sauinge of my soule. Againe, seinge there is a difference of synne, yf I should be carried avvaye a litle further then I ought: yet vvill I at least, strue to refrayne mortall syn vvith all diligence, consideringe that this synne, bringeth damnation.

But out of our aduersaries contrarie doctrine, ensevveth in contraryvvise, that seinge concupiscence moueth one vvwhether he vvill or no, to matters vnlavvfull, as to adulterie, theft, murther, and the like: and seinge vvwhether he consent or no, he hath alreadye synned by the verye naturall motion: againe, seinge all sinnes are mortall and none veniall: vvhat shall let him to consent to the motion, and to accomplishe the same, at least in desire, seinge he can but syn mortallie, if he doe it, and so hath he don alreadye by the verie motion it selfe, vvhi- che is not in his povver to staye. And by this meanes, seinge he must needes syn mortally vvwhether he consent or not consent to the syn: vvho vvill not rather consent to the lust, vvith the pleasure, then stryue against the same vvith the greate payne, and yet to sinne neuer the lesse. And so this openeth an infinite gapp to syn & all levvdy lye, for that no mā vvill stryue aboute



that vvhiche he can not auoide, that is, abovv the resistance of mortall synne.

10. There-  
ward of  
good, and  
euill and  
paynes for  
synne in  
this lyfe.

Contritiō.

Confession

Satisfactiō.

Purgatorie

Tenthlie tovvching the revvarde of euill and good lyfe in the next vvorlde, and tovvching expiation of syn in this lyfe, our religion teacheth, that a mortall syn, beinge once committed after baptisme, is not so soone dispatched agayne, but besides faithe, there is required first, hartie sorovv vvith the full purpose neuer to commit the same againe. Then humble confession of the same to the priest. Thirdlye, after the guylie of the synne remitted by the vertue of Christes passion in the Sacrament of absolution, there is required some temporall punisshment and penance, for satisfaction of gods iustice: the vvliche if a man fulfill not in this lyfe, he must paye it in the next vvith much more payne.

After this, vvhen he commethe to heauen, vve holde, that he shall receaue his degree of glorye accordinge to his perfection of life in this vvorlde, as also accordinge to his demerite and measure of vvickednes, he shall receaue the quantitie of his tormentes in hell, if he go thither. VVherof follovveth the bothe feare to commit syn, seinge a man must take suche paynes for the release of the same in this vvorlde: as also diligence in all the three vvorkes satisfactorie, to vvitt, prayers, almes, and affliction of our ovvne bodies, for preuentinge the paynes of purgatorie. Also zeale of perfection in good men, seinge their degree in glorye shalbe accordinge to their life heere. And finallye, some staye from ovvtrage in vvicked men, consideringe

that their tormentes in hell shalbe but accordinge to the measure of their vvickednes.

But our aduersaries teachinge first, that there is no more payne to be taken for the expiation of synne committed after baptisme, but onlie to beleue, vvwhich is a verie easie poynte, especiallie to euerie man that vvill persvade him selfe that he beleeueth the vvell: also teachinge that there is no place of purgation in the next lyfe, and that no vvorkes of satisfaction are heere needfull on our behalfe: thirdly teachinge, that all glörye is equall to all that are there, and all paine in hell as muche to the least offender as to the greatest: must needes open a gapp to an infinite sea of vvickednes, and licentiousenes in the common vvealthe. For euerie man persvadinge him selfe, that how euill so euer he liue, yet if he holde a faithe in Christ, and beleue he shall most certainelie be saued: that he, vvithout all paines ether in this life or in the life to come, shall presentlie goe to heauen, and there be in as greate glorye as Peter & Paule and other Sainctes, vvliche led the straitest lyfe in this vvorlde. vvho vvill not stande the painefull life of vertue, and take his pleasures, vvliche naturall concupiscence inuiteh hym vnto, consideringe that he maie be saued as vvell vvithethem as vvithout? Againe vvhoe vvil spare (beinge once ouer the shoes) to runne in to any extremitie vvhat soeuer of vvickednes, vvhen he thinketh that if he be damned, he must haue equall punishment vvith the vvoorst?

Eleuenthlie as thes opinions of our ad-



11: VVor-  
kes. Free-  
vill. & pre  
destination

Ecl. 15:  
Luc. 13.  
Apoc. 3.

Math. 5. &  
ro. & 12.  
Heb. 13.

uerfaries, are greate fountaines in deede to all kinde of libertie and loofe behauour, confideringe the mightie inclination of our corrupted flefhe to the fame: fo their doctrine abovvorkes ad predestination, pluckethe vp by the verye rootes all foundation of good lyfe, beatethe dovne the vvhole hedge of feare, and laiethe all open to moft dangerous diffolution. For vvheras vve teache that albeit, all fainctes of God be predestinate before the vvorldes vv ere layed: yet that extinguiſhethe not the libertie of mans freevill, but that he maie (beinge preuented and aſſiſted by the grace of god) doe anie good vvorkes or reſuſe them at his pleaſure. VVhiche good vvorkes beinge don for the loue of god, by a man that is in the ſtate of grace, haue their revvarde and merit, euen to the leaſt cuppe of vvater that a man can geeue, vvhiche is a greate pricke to incite men to the ſame, vſed by the holye Scriptures them ſelues.

But our aduerſaries teachinge firſt that a man hathe no free vvill to theſe thinges, and ſecondlie that if he doe them he ſhall haue no revwarde for them in heauen: muſtes needes vtterlie diſcourage all men from the doinge of good vvorkes. For vvhoe vvill ſtudie aboute a thinge that is nether in his povver, nor yet neceſſarie or profitable vnto him: eſpeciallye vvhen the thinge is bothe harde of it ſelfe, vnpleaſant, and muche repugninge to our ſenſualitie? vvho vvill geeue his goodes to the poore? his landes from his ovvne kinred, to builde hoſpitals and colledges for ſtraungers? vvhoe



will afflict his bodie with the fastinge and praier, when he knoweth that he shall receaue no rewarde therfore in heauen? and that without doinge the same he maye be saued by onely faith?

Tvvelfthlie and lastlie (for I will touch no more,) our Catholique religion teacheth priuate confession of our sinnes vnto the pryest which thinge is the verie hedge and wall of all vertuous life, and the cheefest brydle of Licentiousnes in a common wealthe. For by this, infinite enormities are redressed, which by publique lawes cannot be remedied. In confession manye seruantes are made true to their masters, which before were false, and they are caused to make priue restitution of manie thinges, which their masters thinke not of it. Manye greate breaches betwixt frendes, as wife and husbnde, father and sonne, and the like, are salued. Manye greate mischises intended ether against the magistrate, priuate persons, or the common wealthe, are staied. Many proud hart plucked downe and abated with the exaggarations of his synnes to his face, by his ghostlye father. Many greatte synners brought to hartie repentance, and full purpose of amendemēt, and to promise also, and sometimes and in some cases to sweare, neuer to commit vittinglye and villninglye the like enormities againe. Many afflicted persons comforted with the particuler helps for their griefes: manye desperate folkes mollified, and instructed in the wayes of a new life. Manye Landlordes and superiours, brought to deale more

12. Priuate confession:

Utilities of confession:

mildly vvithe their subiectes, and manye subiectes, to behaue them selues more obedientlie and deuotifullie tovvards their superiours: many restitutions made, many vvrongs recompensed, many quarels ended: finallie, it is impossible to number vpp the infinite and singuler greate commodities vvhiche doe come to mans life, and consequentlie to the common vvealthe, by this spirituall courte & tribunall of God in earthe, that is, by confession.

The vvhiche beinge taken avvaye, as it is novv by our aduersaries in Englande, (albeit Lutherans in Germanie yet vse it,) there must needes follovve in successe of tyme, intollerable inconueniencences. For vvhat vvaye is there novv to deale vvithe the conscience of a childe if he be disobedient to his parentes? Or vvithe a seruant, if he be false or prodigall to his master? if you accuse him, he vvill denye it: if you vrge him, he vvill fall out vvithe you for it: but if him selfe shoulde confesse it to you, as he vvvas vyonte to doe to his ghostlie father, askinge absolution at his handes, and pardon at Gods for the same: there is offered bothe fitt place & occasion, to entreate vvithe him for it: and he in disposition to heare good counsell.

So if a prince or greate personage, abuse him selfe in life, vvhe vvill dare to tell him uerye fault in particuler, or rebuke him for the same? If a man (for examples sake) doe excede in apparell, or other vanitie, vvhe vvill goe and reprehende him for it, or vvithe vvhat hope of amendment? To conclude, this holye exercise of confession beinge taken avvaie, the verye



locke of good lyfe (vvherof not onlie the sov-  
le but also the vveale publique dependethe) is  
vutterlye burst and remoued from amongst  
Christians.

Thes differences therfore beinge betvvixt  
our religion and that of our aduersaries, (right  
honorable) to vvchinge the maintenance, con-  
tinuance, vvell doinge, and secure establishe-  
ment of a common vvealthe: there appeareth no  
reaso in policie, that is, in respecte of the good  
estate of our countrie, ( vvherof your honours  
haue the charge) vvliche may prohibite your  
vvisedomes to shew some more fauorable tol-  
leration to the Catholique parte, if it might  
please God to instill so good and gracious a  
motion into your hartes.

Nether is it for anye of our aduersaries to an obiection  
stepp vp heere, and to impugne any of our for-  
mer opinions in religion, (as they are vvont  
commonlye to eschevv the matter in hande, and  
to deale vvith impertinent pointes not inten-  
ded in that place): for my purpose is not heere  
to handle matters of controuersie, vvliche vve  
bothe offer dailye & desyer muche to trye vvi-  
th our aduersaries at other tymes ether in vvri-  
tinge or publique disputation: but my onlie  
meaninge is, to shew, that the practise of our  
doctrine as vve holde it, and of our aduersaries  
as they teache it, vvwhether it be trevv or false,  
(vvliche at other tymes and places is to be dis-  
cussed): of ours (I saie) doe follovv infinite vtili-  
ties to a Christian commo vvealthe, vvliche doe  
not from the doctrine of our aduersaries, but  
rather the cleane contrarye hurtes and dama-  
ge. So D. ffulke  
hathe an-  
swered M.  
howlets  
reasons of  
refusall.  
Grauntin-  
ge the rea-  
sons as they  
lye, but yet  
quarrelinge  
at some  
matter of  
controuersie  
in the  
reason.



ges, and this is the state of our question in this place, vvhiche I leaue open to anie of our aduersaries that can, to improve by reason, in the pointes before recited.

The kinge of Bungo in Iapan beinge a heathen hath the permitted & protected the catholique religion in his countries thes 28. yeres onlye for the commoditie hee seeleth his common vvealthe to receaue thereof, in ep. Indic: the like dothe the greate Turcke and other Princes of Mahometes secte at this daye.

The proceedinge of ministers vvithe vs.

Now then, if our religion and the secret exercise therof, be in no vwise hurtfull vnto your common vvealthe, (right honorable) but rather doe bringe greate commodities therunto: it maie be one motyue vnto your vvifdomes (as it hath byn, and is to some other counsellors els vvhere of the contrary religion) to tolerate more, or at least, to shew lesse extremitie against the same, howe muche so euer you thinke vs deceaued in not conforminge our selues to the protestantes religion. Albeit to saye myne opinion also herein, vvith your honorable fauours, I can not thincke but that your vvifdomes beinge suche as they are, bothe greate and grovnded, doe easelye see that our standinge in this pointe, is not vvithout substantiall cause and reason in vs, albeit not sufficient to moue your honours to the same opinion that vve are of.

For first vvho dothe not see that the verie proceedinge of our aduersaries is a stronge reason to make vs staie, if there vv ere nothinge els, vvho dare not admit anye equall triall, of their cause, nether in vvritinge, preachinge, or lawfull disputation, they beinge so often requested by vs to the same: But are alvvayes at your honours elbowes to sturre vpp the temporall svvoorde against vs, If vve make anie reasonable offer, or neuer so orderlie and devvtifull attempt, for the obtaininge of this

thinge, euen at home vppon their ovyne grownde ( for abrode they dare not apeare vwith neuer so muche securitie or curtesie inuited ) to our ovyne greate toyle, labour, daunger, and disaduantage of our cause? And yet they are not ashamed for some colour of the matter, to creepe into a prison to some poore man miserablye racked, or othervvise pitifullie handled before, and there vvithout geeuinge the partie any vvarninge or tyme to forethincke him selfe, or allowinge anie bookes, or permittinge equall notaries, or sufferinge hym to oppose one argument for his parte, to assault vvith iumpinge interrogations, leapinge from pointe to pointe, from matter to matter, accordinge as they came prepared, or as anye litle shevve of aduantage vvvas offered, vvith greate vvoordes, stearne countenance, bygg voyce, muche threatninge, and vnciuile reuilinge.

VWhich proceedinge of theirs, declaringe manifestlie their feare and nakednes and vter vvante both of trueth charitie and modestie: must needes in the iudgementes of all vvise men, dispute as muche for vs, as any argument in the voorld that vve can make for our selues.

Secondlye, howv cleare so euer the matter be made against vs, in vvordes, and ordinarie speech of men, as that vve resist the Ghospell and manifest vvoorde of god, and the lyke: yet your honours can not but thinke, that these speeches (vvhen all indifferent triall is refused) can not moue vs muche, especiallye seeinge that in other contries, vvhere other lectures doe raigne, no lesse differinge from vs, then this of

Such vvvas the disputa-  
tion in the  
tower  
vvith. M.  
campion &  
others  
vvher men  
vvvere pro-  
hibited  
vvith billes  
& tipstaues  
to enter.  
And many  
a knock on  
the head  
receaued  
for offeringe  
to heare:  
and muche  
mony spent  
to geate  
places.

The vncer-  
taine of  
temporall  
fauour in  
matters of  
religion:



Nicolaus  
Amisfordi<sup>9</sup>

art. 28. con-  
tra Iouan.  
to. 2. vvvittē.  
fo. 503.

P. Martyr.  
M. Bucer.

Caluine, they do orderlye saie the verie same of our Englishe protestantes, vvhich they doe of vs, vvherin I refer my selfe to a Lutherā Superintendents booke, intituled, *Confessio pure doctrinae Evangelicae*. A confession of the pure doctrine of the ghospell, vvhere he geueth sentence (as a bisshoppe) of the doctrine novv taught in Englande, by this vvorde *Damnamus: vve condemnē it as dissonant from the pure ghospell*. And I haue shewed ovvt of luther before, vvhere he saieth of the teachers and maintainers therof, *Haereticos serio censemus, & alienos ab Ecclesia dei*. VVe doe censure them in earnest for heretikes, and remoued from the church of god. The like doe Anabaptistes, Trinitaries, and other sectes pronounce of them. So that in this common phrased and speeche of pure ghospell, there is litle importance that tovvcheth the matter.

And surely, if after kinge henryes death the noble man vvich thē could doe most, consultinge vvith his frindes to bringe in a nevve religion, had pleased to bringe in, tovv Lutherans, Anabaptistes, or of any other secte, as he did tvvo Calvinistes, to reade in the tvvo vniuersities of Englande (as he might very easelye haue donne, for any resistāce or triall that then vvas vsed:) had not that religiō byn novv called the ghospell, the pure vvorde, the layv of the lorde, the establisshed religion, and the like, as novv this is called in Englāde, and as thes other sectes are called by their professors in the places vvhere they beare rule? And should not vve haue byn punished as muche for resistinge of them, as vve are novv for resistinge this? yes

verelye, and no reason to the contrary.

VVherfore seinge a man may not alvvayes depende safelye of the seculer magistrate in religion, nor make repose of his soule, vppon the fovvndation of a temporall law: vve are in iustice to craue pardon of your honours, for not conforminge our opinions to yours in this matter: vve can not doe it vvithout dissimulation and most greeuouse remorse of an accusing conscience. Yf your honours vvoulde graunte suche indifferent triall betvvixt the learned of bothe our sydes, as vve demaunde for our instruction and devv reformation in iudgement, if vve err: the matter perhaps might sone be ended: But that beinge denied, and the aduerse partye shewinge manifest distrust thereby, as it semeth to vs: vve remaine as before, of contrarye opinion in poyntes of beleefe: but in all other matters as becommeth devvtifull subiectes, most readie to serue her maiestie & your honours, to the vttermost of all our earthlye & mortall abilitie.

The petition of law full disputation renewed.

Our desyre vve haue to be rightlye informed, may appeare, not only by our often and earnest petitions of lawfull tryall in poyntes of controuersie: but also by this, that vve require not anye longe or tedious satisfaction in matters, but onlye a demonstration of one necessarye pointe, vvherof our resolution in other thinges vvoulde soone ensevve.

And this pointe is, that seinge the religion of Christ and his Apostles, vvas ( by all parties confession ) the verie trevv religion for vvich vve stryue, and vvherby vve must be saued, and



So for a hundred or two hundred yeres after, without contradiction of either partie, the religion was pure which was deliuered by the Christian church over all the world: lett demonstration be made, which of our religions beganne since that tyme (for that must needs be false, hauinge not his beginninge from Christ and his Apostles,) and this maie be don (as it seemeth to vs) bothe easely, apparentlye, and sensiblye in this manner.

An easie,  
short, and  
euidēt vva-  
ie offered  
of tryall:

Reason.

experience

VWhen anie religion is once publickelye planted and receaued, as the trew religion was by our aduersaries confession, in the first two or three hundred yeres after Christ: it is impossible to bringe in a new religion contrary to that, or any articles of faith repugnant to these before, without some contradiction or resistance of them that then liued, possessed in the former religion. This is a proposition euident bothe by experience and reason. For first, reason teacheth vs to be impossible, for one man or manye, to bringe in a new religion, contrarie to all, and to make it to be receaued generallie of all, without resistance of some, especiallye the thinge beinge a manifest falshood touching matter of saluation, as they saye our opinions are. This (I saye) is impossible in common reason. For if one citie would receaue it, yet another would not: if one countrey or kyngdome would allowe it, yet another would make resistance, at least while for a tyme. And if no Citie nor countrey nor kyngdome had controlled it, yet some good man or other would haue donne it in the world abroad. Secondlye the same appea-

rethe by experience, for that there vvas neuer yet heresie or error that rose against any one clause or iote of the true the before receaued, but it vvas controlled presently and resisted by voices and vvrtinges of infinite men. And in Englande beinge but a litle corner in respect of the vvhole vvorlde, there coulde neuer yet appeare anye one opinion contrary to the doctrine before receaued, but it vvas straighe vvaie noted and rebuked: as the religion of Caluine, by the Catholiques before in possession: after that, the fansie of the puritane by the protestant: after that, the deuise of the familie of loue, by bothe protestant and puritane: and generally there vvas neuer yet heresye offered to the church, or to any peece of the same, but that it vvas straight vvaie knowen, vvhoe vvere the beginners thereof, at vvhich tyme, vvhich multitude first left the former religion and followed the same, vvhoe resisted, vvhos spake and vvrote against it, and the like: and this is a treveth more cleare than the Sonne it selfe.

This then beinge so, the issue vvhiche vs A verie  
desyre to ioyne, is euident and plaine: to vvitte, reasonable  
that of these articles vvhichin vve dissent from issue offered.  
them, and vvhiche they call heresy, as inuent-  
ed by vs since the Apostles tyme: as the reall  
presence, the sacrifice of the masse, purgatorie,  
prayer for the dead, intercession of sayntes, me-  
ritt of good vvoorckes, grace inherent, fyue sa-  
cramentes denied by them, and the like: let the  
shewe by anie one father, historiographer, or  
other autenticall testimonie, vvhich any of these  
pointes vvere brought first into the church



and resisted by them that then lyued, ( as they must needs be if they vvere contrary to the vniuersall doctrine then receaued in christiantie ) and vve remayne satisfied vvithout any furder particuler tryall.

This is a most reasonable demaunde, soone answered if the trevvth be vvith our aduersaries. For vve take vppon vs to shievv all thes particulars before recited in euery pointe of doctrine vvherin they dissent from vs : that is, vvhen it began to be first knovvē in the church by vvhat man, vvho first controlled it, and the like : but let them doe the same by vs, and the matter is ended.

But if they can finde no one booke extant in the vvorlde against anie article of our difference from them, at the first commynge of the same into the church, nor can finde recorde of anye man that ether reprehended or controlled it vvhen it vvas first inuented ( as they saye ) by our forefathers, but that it vvas receaued vvith the silence and approbation, not onlye in one countrie, but thoroughovv the vvorlde, not in one pointe, but in many, and they most important: as for example, the fayninge of fyue sacramentes together, ( although vve holde in our doctrine that none but Christ can institute a sacrament, no not the vvhole church together, nor all the Apostles vvhen they vvwere alyue ), if ( I saie ) they can finde no recorde at all, that any man resisted or controlled thes horrible & blasphemous poyntes at their first entringe into the churchie, ( if it be trevv that they entred in since the Apostles tyme ) then must thei thincke that

men were senseles and madd at that time, that  
 voolde suffer so manye, so grosse, & so impor-  
 tant heresies, to passe vnchecked, and neuer to  
 open their mouthes against them, vvhervas at the  
 verye same tyme, (that is, vvithin the first fyue  
 hundred yeres after Christ, vvherin our aduer-  
 saries graunte thies heresies to haue bene crept in  
 to the churche) the fathers and doctors that  
 then lyued, vvrote most diligentely against eue-  
 rie other litle error that appeared. But now  
 vvwhether it be reasonable to thinke so of those  
 holye learned and vigilant men or els to thin-  
 ke our aduersaries some vvhat shameles, in char-  
 ging them vvith the suche absurdities, I leaue to  
 the indifferent reader to consider.

And thus muche haue I bene bolde to laye  
 downe to your vvisedomes, right honorable,  
 both for the innocencie of our cause, the equi-  
 tie of our demaunde, the reason of our offer,  
 and the easie meanes of our satisfaction, if our  
 aduersaries vvolde agree to the same. VVhich  
 all tendeth onely to this end (as your honours  
 right vvell can discern) to mitigate the greate  
 offence conceaued against vs, and consequentlie  
 some parte of that extreame rigour vsed to vvards  
 vs and our cause of later dayes, vvwhich bein-  
 ge such, as in verie deed is intollerable: vve are  
 constrained to make recourse to your honours  
 to vvhome of devv our protection appertai-  
 neth. and to doe, as a certaine afflicted man did  
 vvith an Emperour in times past, that is, to ap-  
 peale from your selues vnto your selues: from  
 your selues, as offended by the instigation of  
 our aduersaries: vnto your selues, mollified



vvith our iust defence and innocencie in crymes obiected.

If by the rackinges, stretchinges, vvrestinges, and dreadfull tortures, vsed so often and to so many of our innocent afflicted brethren, and that in so rigourous & mercilesse manner, there hath bene any one thinge vvrounge out from them, of treason, conspiracie, or practises against the state, vvhervvith our aduersaries, vvithout conscience, do vse dailye to accuse vs in their bookes and sermons, therby to sturre her maiestie and your honours against vs: lett the partie guyltie be punished openly, vvith infamie also to our vvhole cause, albeit in this later, vve offer more than reason. But if after all this adoe, after all this fierse halinge, and pitifull pullinge of mē in peeces, nothings hath bene founde at all, no one act, no vvorde, no cogitation of suche matters, but onely innocencie and Zeale of religion in the tormented: then is our case muche more hard at home, in our ovvne countrie, vnder our ovvne Soueraigne, than it could be any vvhere els vnder the extremest aduersaries of our religion in the vvorlde.

For I knowv your honours can not but consider, that the greatest enemyes of Christianitie this daie liuinge, as those of the secte of Mahomet, and many gētles besydes, ar so far of, from tormentynge Catholiques, as they permit vnto them the libertie and exercise of their conscience, in respect of the antiquitie and continuance therof. For vvwhich cause also, the most of Christian princes, do tollerate vvith the verrie leuyes: and suche as possesse the Indes and

other places, vvhē gentiles inhabite, neuer vse to moleste, and muche lesse to torment them for their consciences, vvhērī they vvere borne and bredd vp: for that, faithe beinge the guifte of God, and comminge by hearinge (as the scripture saiethe) is not to be put in by tormentes & persecution. Rom. 12:  
Rom. 10.

Pitifull then and compassionable is our case (right honorable): if, of all other men, vve finde lesse rest, and most extremitie, and that also there, and from those, vvhē, and from vvhōme, manie greate considerations shoulde yealde vs hope of fauoure and mercie. No protestant prince of any other countrie did euer vse the like: and it is quyte contrarie both to the preachings and protestations of all those of that religion in other places, as also of our aduersaries in Englande, before they came to beare rule them selues.

Alas (my Lordes) vvhāt impelleth your vvifdomes (for of nature I can not thincke you so fiers & pityles) to exercise suche extremitie vpon poore people for that cause, vvhē of your ovvne fathers vvere as guyltie as vve are, that is, for our conscience in the auncient religion? If you meane to vvine mē therby to your opiniō, it is the cleane contrarie course, as I haue shewved. If you thinke by terrour to make those desist, vvhich of meere zeale after the apostolique manner doe offer them selues to daunger for maintenance of that faithe: you know the vvise counsaile of honorable Gamaliet: if it be of man, it vvill sone be dispatched: but if it be of God, humane terrour can not lett it, as hitherto Act. 5.



I am sure it dothe greatlie increase it.

Your honours haue procured libertie of conscience for those of your religion in some other countries, vvhich must proceede (as vve interpret) from a mercifull disposition towar- des the afflicted, and that mens consciences are not to be constrained.

VVe beseeche your Lordships then, that vve your poore afflicted subiectes, maye tast some parte of that your honorable disposition, vvhetherof straungers doe receaue so greate releefe and comforte.

Consider ( my good lordes. ) in most humble manner I desire and requeste it , vvhath the end of all thes straininges , and most rigourous proceedinges can arriue vnto. In respect of the vvorld, (I must speake playnelye) it can be neither honorable nor profitable, nor of anye secure cōtinuance, beinge subiect to infinite horror, obloquie, grudge, and hatred, as also to diuers breaches and most daungerous vvoundes, as all extremities are vvonte to be. And in respect of God, howv it is to be liked, eche man maye gesse vvhiche readeth the scriptures, detestinge euerye vvhere all mercilesse proceedinge of mortall men vvith their brethren, and commendinge, most carefullie, compassion one towar- des the other, vvith greuous threatens to them that vse the contrarie.

Remember ( right honorable ), that howv different so euer our degrees be in this vvorld, yet must vve all be equall before the common iudge, at the later daie , and all those afflicted persons, these tormēted, these imprisoned, these

impouerished , these poore men , vvomen children, and seruantes, vvwhich lye now in miserie by your meanes. ether lurking in corners or driuen from place to place, nor daring to appeare or shew their countenance before your Lordships, must stand by you vvithout feare at that daie , to geeue in euidence of thinges passed against them.

Good Lorde, vvhat comfort can it be to any of your honours , at the daie vvhen you must depart this vvorlde, to haue vsed suche rigour, to your ovvne fleshe and bloode , for matter of conscience, vvwhich you haue not don to any other most impious, haynous, or detestable malefactor, VVhat good or coforte can the tormēted members of your brethren , the stretched veines, the broken synovves , the dismembred iointes , the rented bevvells of your countreye mā, of your ovvne quiet subiectes, of most peaceable, modest, and innocent priests yelde vnto your soules at that daye? you must your selues crye for mercye in that dreadfull hovver , to hym vvhome these men, ether in trevvth, or in opinion do serue , and vvhy than may not vve aske some mercye at your honours handes now, at the least, from the horrible and seruile tormentes , vvwhich Christian and ciuill hartes doe detest to thinke on? VVhat good can the outragious meanes vvorke anye vvay vnto your cause, or vvhen you be dead, vvhat hanour, estimation , loue, or securitie, can the eternall memorie of the extreame dealinges , pourchasse vnto your posteritie.

The cause beinge gods, as vve presume : if all



the earth shoulde rise against vs, vve may not geue over, nor once shrinke in the confession and profession of this faith, though all vvrath of man vnder the cope of heauen shoulde rage and vvax tempestuous. For that, hauinge but one lyfe to yelde : vve knovve the vttermost that can be donne vnto vs. And if our tormenters vvoulde deferre the same , by longe, and often, and flowv tortures, to feede vppon our paines, as they seeme to doe: yet, at the last, they can afflict vs no longer, than our breath vvill holde in: and finallie, the matter must haue an end , and both they and vve be transposed to a nevv iudgment seate, vvhere matters must be nevv trauerst agayne, and nevv sentence geuen, & nevv tortures appointed, of other qualitie and continuance, than thes former vv ere. At vvhat time, if vve suffer in a good cause, (as vve persvvade our selues vve doe ) all our teares shalbe vvyped avvaye by our sauour him selfe , all our molestations appeased, all our penuries releued, all our paines assvved, all our racked members resetled, all our dispersed bowveles restored agayne, and vve placed ovvt of all feare, sorovv, & affliction, for the time to come,

Apoc. 21.

Apoc. 21.

In respect vvherof, and especiallye in consideration of the infinite paines and tormentes, vvwhich our svveete Sauour suffered for vs: vve are content to beare both this, and vvhat so euer further affliction , his holye hande shall please to lay vppon vs , beinge sorye that vve haue not moe lyues than one, to leese in this his cause: for a thovvsande in eche man , can not be unsvverable to his one deathe for vs , nor to

# TO THE COUNCELL. 41

his greate loue and diuine consolation, vvhich he assisteth dayely, and comforteth the hartes and spirites of our afflicted brethren, euen in the middest of their greatest tortures, penuries, and miserable calamities.

VVherfore, to conclude this vvofull matter, vvithout any further tediousnes vnto your honours, vve are in all humilitie and devvtifull submission, to beseeche and obtest your most honorable assemblye, euen for the loue of our Saueoure, in respect of our cause (vvhich vve protest before his diuine maiestie to be onely our conscience in religion, and not any euill meaninge tovvardes his minister, our soueraygne): that you vvill at length take notice of our distresses, consideration of our calamities, and finallie, some mercifull inclination, tovvards our afflictions. VVhich if your honours doe, hovv so euer othervvise you thinke vs amisse, in our cause of conscience: yet, no doubt but you shall receaue the revvarde devv to mercie and clemencie, both from God. & the vvorlde. But if this our supplication of mercie, finde no mercye, nor place at all: yet shall not vve cease to pray stil for your honours, comfortinge our selues vvith the hope onely of Gods mercie, vvhen man forsaketh vs, and also vvith this cogitatio, that your Lordships are nether the first, nor the greatest, nor shalbe the last vvhich shall persecute this faith, & churche, for vvhich vve suffer. And hovv so euer the matter doe passe for our lynes and tymes, (vvherof vve make no greate accounte): yet our posteritie shall see, (as our auncestours haue scene before) that men

The conclusion.



doe alter ; passe and fade , and their cogitations come to chaungeable and vnexpected euents, but the trevvth of our Lorde endureth for euer.

Psal. 116.

Your honours humble oratour  
and vnfaigned hartie Beadesman.

G. T.

AN EPISTLE TOVV-  
CHINGE THE PERSECV-  
TION OF CATHOLICKES IN  
ENGLANDE.

*To his verie louinge frinde. M. Gerarde at  
Bononie in Italie.*

**I**Haue receaued diuers and sun-  
drye your lettres ( my deare  
frinde) and all to lyke effecte  
and purpose. For you requyre  
most earnestlie at my handes,  
that I shoulde signifie to you the certa-  
intie of our Englishe persecution vppon  
Catholickes, wherof you saye there is a  
greate brute with you, but yet dyuerslye  
reported, and of no constant credit. Ma-  
rye, to me you thinke it an easie matter,  
to write the verie trewth and the certa-  
intie of thinges: for that I lye neere to the  
place where they are donne, and may  
learne dailye bothe by lettres and reports  
of suche as come thence, how they passe.  
The which thinge albeit I shoulde gra-  
unte, (for in deed I lye neere and doe at-



#### 44 OF THE PERSECVTION

tende with some diligence, bothe what is written, or reported from thence:) yet whether I may put downe the same in writinge, and imparte it to our frindes there, most desyrous of the same (as you saye) especiallye withe the intēt it should be made publique: I can hardlye resolute my selfe. For you are not ignorant what a perylous point it is, to complayne of iniuries receaued from the mightie, whose fashio is, not to pmitt free the wailinges of the afflicted, but rather to take reuenge of the very complaintes which are made of their doinges.

VVherfore lest I shoulde hurte them whome I vvish best vnto, and by recountinge their calamities, encrease the same, which I would rather ease if I coulde, though it were with the daunger of myne owne lyfe: I rest verie doutfull, not knowinge well what were best to determine. And yet, to say the treyvthe, I must confesse, that I finde inclination in my selfe to the satisfiyinge of your demaunde, both for that the thinge semethe iust, which you aske, and also the reasons by you alleaged, sufficient to defend it from all canill of the enemye. For thus you reason:

vvhath is it not lawfull to committ to priuate lettres that which is openlye and publiquelye donne? and if they wold make this a fault: yet is it onlye your fault, not to be layed vppon the poore men alreadye in affliction: punishable vppon you, and not vppon them.

VVhich reason of yours beinge taken in deed from the verye sense of nature her selfe, encourageth me much to satisfie your demaunde, seinge that the wisdom of our aduersaries ought to yelde vs this hope, (for they are not vnwise accordinge to fleshe & blood) that they will not attribute other mens offences, (if it be an offence) to suche as are innocent of the same, albeit trewly my endeouour shalbe so to write eche thinge as (by their owne iudgements) I may not offende. For I will speake nothinge odiouslye, nothinge bitterlye, but I will declare what hath bene donne: & yf the rigour of the matter dryue me at anye time into complaint: it shalbe without the reproche of any man.

For I deeme it not the parte of Catholikes to recompence iniurie with iniurie, or to requyte iniustice with acer-

The parte  
of Catholi  
ques.



# 46 OF THE PERSECUTION

bitie of speche. For that we haue a mercifull and mightie lorde to whose onely arbitrement all iniuries, are to be referred:

1. Pet. 5.

Rom. 22. *he hath care of vs, (as the scripture saith,) to him let vs leaue reuenge. He him selff vwill*

Psal. 42. *repaye: he vwill discerne our cause: he vwill deli-*

Psal. 74. *uer vs from the vnholye nation, frō the vniust & guylefull man: he, when time shalbe, vwill sit in iudgemēt vppon [our] iustice it selfe, & how muche more vppō the vniust psecutions, molestatiōs, & vexatiōs of his seruantes.*

In the meane space if we be afflicted, if we be trodden downe, if we suffer the spoyle of our worldye goodes, if we be subiect to reproches, if we be pressed with prisons, if we be tyed with chaines, if we pyne awaie with hunger, colde, and want of necessaries, if we be whipped and burned in the eares as roags, if we be drawen hanged and quartered alyue, if we be consumed with diuers kindes' of deathes. (for all thes thinges Catholiques in England do sustaine:) and if, (which is a matter yet of more greefe,) we sustaine thes thinges in the middest of our brethren, in sight and hearinge of other Catholiques rownde about vs, they lookinge on, and takinge litle compassion of our

case, nor helping vs with their worde,  
 when as perhaps they may: yet must not  
 we be discouraged, nor forsake the hol-  
 some anchor of patience. For vve are not  
 (as the scripture saith) *better then our fa-*  
*thers which were hoored in peeces, racked,*  
*whipped, and imprisoned.* And the Apostle  
 addeth one thinge which I wolde haue  
 you to marcke: *and thes men (saith he)*  
*receaued no redemption: (that is, no ease of*  
*their afflictions in this lyffe) to the end they*  
*might finde a better resurrection.* VVe beinge  
 Scholers are not aboute our maister, *vhoe*  
*doinge no iniustice in the worlde, yet was repa-*  
*ted amongst the vicked, and suffered mu-*  
*che more crueltie for our sakes, and yet*  
*did not he open his mouthe as the scri-*  
*pture saith before his persecuters.*

4. Re. 19.

Heb. 11.

Luc. 6.

1. Pet. 1.

Esa. 53.

Luc. 22.

Esa. 33.

Let vs then retaine still this aunciēt  
 possession of holye sufferance, commen-  
 ded vnto vs by our saueour and conser-  
 ued by our forefathers. Let vs leaue vnto  
 our aduersaries, that disloyall kinde of re-  
 uenge, wherby they are woont to resist  
 magistrates to sturre vp sedition, and  
 wherby in thes our dayes they haue de-  
 stroied partlye by violence and partlye  
 by secret fraude, so manye noble men,

The pro-  
 pertie of  
 heretikes.

Rom. 9.

Ep. iud.



valeant capitaines, Holye priestes, strong cities, and most noble and renowned common wealthes and states. Let them

Hier. 17.

1. Cor. 3.

vse the arme of mā, let them trust in their craft and subtiltie of witt, let them feede of wickednes as muche as they list, our hope

Eph. 4.

Psal. 61.

16. 113.

is in god our lorde, vvho vvill saue them that hope in him: all our healpe is in the name of our lorde, vvho made heauen and earth, and forget-

Psal. 45.

teth not our pouertie and tribulation. It maie please his diuine maiestie, perhaps, to deliuer vs ouer to be chastened for our syn-

Psal. 98.

nes, for that the kinges honour louethe indgmet. But certes he will not cast vs awaie, if we repent our synnes, and returne vnto hym,

Psal. 49.

77. 140.

144.

for that he is mercifull, and full of mercie, and there is no number of his mercysfull doynges.

VVhat could be spokem by him more expresselye than this?

Psa. 88.

If his children forsake my lawv (saieth he of David) & shall not vvalk in my indgements: if they shall prophane my iustice, and shall not keepe my commaundementes:

I vvill visit vvith the rodd their iniquities, and their sinnes vvith vvhippes:

But yet I vvill not take my mercye from them, nether vvill I hurt them in my trevvth,

I vvill not prophane my testamēt, nor make frustate

strate the vvordes, vvhich haue passed from my  
ovvne lypes.

I haue once svvorne in my holye, I vvill not  
lye, to Dauid, his seede shall remayne for euer  
and euer.

This is the promisse, this is the firme  
protestation of god, to the seede of Da-  
uid, that is, to the Catholique church of  
Christ, towching her euerlastinge con-  
tinuance, made by an othe, confirmed by  
his bloode, and establisshed by the expe-  
rience of manye ages. VVherefore we  
must not dispaire but confidentlie en-  
dure, for vvhoe so euer indureth our lorde, Psal. 24.  
shall neuer be confounded. And if he do staie  
some vvhat longe, yet let vs expect him, for that  
cōminge he vvill come, & vvill not forslovve it. Abac. 2.

To this tollerāce of aduersitie, when  
we in this our banishment for religion,  
doe often cohort one an other for our  
comfort: there is nothinge which we can  
propose more forcible, ether for our cō-  
solatiō or imitatiō, thē the sufferinges of  
our deare bethren in England, so muche  
more greuous and sharper then ours, by  
how muche the woundes doe more af-  
flict, which are felt in a mans owne bo-  
die, then those whiche are made vppon



externall temporalities. I meane that we whoe flyinge the handes of our persecutors, doe leade a banished life in strāge countries, albeit we are besett with manie incommodities, thorough lacke of our countrie and domesticall frindes, and by the losse of our goodes and possessions at home: yet we enioie the libertie of these two thinges, which of all other are of most importance, that is both of bodie and sowle, neither of which is permitted vnto our Catholiques at home.

For first besides the taxes and aggrauations, which are laide vppon their temporall commodities, their very bodies are subiect to a thowsande vexations, both of bondes, imprisonment, and also of tormentes. But to their sowls there is nothinge left free or at libertie, not their religion not their internall feelinge or opinion of God & their consciēce, for thou must say as other men say, doe as they sweare, yf thou lyue there albeit thou thinke the playne contrarie in thy conscience.

VVhich seruitude, and illiberall persure and forcement of mynde, especial

lye in matters pertaininge to God, beinge the greateſt and moſt greeuous affliction, that may be exercyſed vppon man, maketh our ſtate and condition, ( albeit in other thinges very harde ) to ſeeme much more tollerable than that of our brethré at home. For whoe would not eſteeme it more greeuous than all other incommo- dities, yea than death it ſelfe, to be wre- ſted in conſcience, to be forbidden all exerciſe of religion, to be enforced to ſweare & make profeſſion of new ſtraun- ge opinions, which his hart doth reiect, deteſt, and abhorre: and yf by chance he ſhould be taken ſeruinge god accordinge to his owne manner, and the manner of his fathers and aunceltours, & of the moſt parte of Chriſtianitie beſides, ( albeit it were alone, albeit it were preuilye, and in moſt ſecrete wiſe: ) yet to be plucked owt, as an offender of the ſupreme maie- ſtie of the prince, as an enymie of the cō- mon wealthe, as a wicked and flagitious caitife, vnworthie of life, or the compa- ny of mé? And that theſe thinges doe ſo now paſſe in Englande ( M. Gerard ) it ſhall euidentlie appeare, by the narration followinge.



The lawes  
of England  
againſt Ca-  
tholiques.

And firſt of all that the matter may the better be vnderſtoode, and you the eaſier coniect of the trueth of that I ſaye, it ſemeth to me no euill methode, to laye downe firſt, the publique lawes which England (borne, & inſtructed by Catholiques, in Chriſtianitie,) hath now for their Chriſtian faith, ſet furthe againſte Catholiques. For by theſe lawes may be eaſily cōceaued what Catholiques are ſubiect vnto, in reſpect of the power, malice, & iniquitie of priuate aduerſaries when they liſt, ſeing that publique lawes do yelde ſo muche authoritie, to euerye mā almoſte, that woulde ſeek a cauill or ſclaunder againſt them.

Two kin-  
des of  
lawes.

To beginne therefore with theſe lawes, it is firſt to be known that there are two kinde of lawes at dyuers times ſet furth in diſſauoure and puniſhemēt of the Catholique religion. The one which concerneth monye, poſſeſſions, and other goodes bothe of fortune & bodye, which I thinke maie be called penall or monye lawes. The other which maie rather be called bloodie or capitall lawes, for that they inflict deathe vnto the offenders. And to this diuiſion of lawes will I applye my

speeche folowinge.

Amongest the penall lawes I will put that as first, which was made amongst the last, for the punishment of those whiche for conscience sake refuse to come to the protestants churches. For this poynt the aduersarie vrgeth greatlie, that (all beyt the Catholiques be of an other religion, though they detest Calvinisme in their harts, though they abhor all prayers and cōuenticles of the ministers, and accompt their seruice for most wicked & blasphemouse:) yet must they come to yt, they must assist and shewe themselves present, albe yt with a repynnyng and resistinge conscience. And because some do refuse to synn in such horrible wyse against god, and their owne consciences: therefore this lawe was made against these scrupulouse men for soothe: that who so euer should refuse to come to the protestants churche, to heare diuine seruice (as they call yt) yf he be aboue the age of sixtene yeres: shall forfeite twētye powndes Englishe euerye monethe: and he which can not paye, to lye in prison vntill he be of better habilitie to paye. The rest of those lawes folowe here in

Penall  
lawes.

Recusants.

i. For refusing to go to churches of protestants.



order.

VVho so euer shall be conuicted to haue hearde masse, though it were secretlye, shall suffer imprisonment, the space of one whole yere, and so longe after, vntil he paye a hundrede marke.

2. For hearinge or sayinge masse.

But as for the priest which celebrateth masse, he shall neuer be lett owte of prison till he haue payde two hundred marks. And that somme of money must be payd so oft as any offendeth herein.

3. For abiuration of religion.

VVhat soeuer Ecclesiasticall persone shall not make publike detestation of the romane Religion, and openlie abiure the authoritie and iurisdiction of the byshopp of Rome: shall forsaite all his benefices and all his dignities ecclesiasticall what soeuer.

4. For othes in the vniuersities.

No Scholer or student maye haue any place with in the Colleiges of the vniuersities, or be preferred to any degree of Learning, excecpt such as at his fyrst entry in to the Colleige, and at the taking of euerye degree, doth by solemne othe, denie the byshopp of Romes authoritie, in all causes Ecclesiasticall.

5. For othes of officers.

None may haue any publique Office, or other ministerie, in the common wel-

the, except he fyrst solemlye publishe, the self same abiuration of the byshopp of Rome.

No warde comyngeto full age may enter in to his inheritaunce, or enioye any cōmodities thereof, except he fyrst take the same othe.

6. For othes of vvarde.

V Vho so euer vnder degree of a Baron, shall be called (as oftentimes it hapneth) to be one of the parliamēt (in which courte voices were wont to be most free) must neuer the lesse haue no voice there, yf he will not take the sȳde common othe against the Pope.

7. For othes of perleyament: men.

V What persone so euer (vnder degree of a baron) to whome this othe hath bene twyse ministered, doeth the second time refuse the same, shall forfait all his goods and possessions, & be condemned to perpetuall pryson.

8. For recusants.

V Vho so euer denieth the quene to be supreme heade of the Church of England, in causes Ecclesiasticall, shall suffer in the same Penaltie of losse of all his goodes, and of perpetuall imprysonment.

9. For denieng of the quenes supremacy.

V Vho so euer receiueth or kepeth any Agnus dei Rosaries, halowed graines, medalls, or anie other thnig which is ha-

10. For receiuers of halowed things:



56 OF THE PERSECUTION

lowed by the Pope and brought into England, shall endure the same punishment of losse of all his goods and of perpetuall imprysonment.

11 For keeping Catholique Scholemasters.

Yf any kepe a Scholemaster in hys howse, to teache hys owne childeren or others, which dothe not haunt the church of protestants, or is not by one of their byshopps allowed: he shall for that cause forfeit ten pounds for euerie month, vntill he haue remoued him.

12 For concealers of reconciled Catholiques.

Yf anie do knowe one, whiche hathe reconciled another, to the vnitie and communion of the church of Rome, and yf he doe by any waye or meane ayde, eyther the reconciler or the reconciled, or do conceale thone or thother, in suche wise as he doe not discouer them bothe, to some publique magistrate, with in the space of twentye dayes, then next folowenige: he shall forfait all his goods, as well mouable as vnmouable, and all his possessions whiles he lyueth: and his bodie shall remaine to be disposed, as pleaseth the queene.

13 For concealing procurers.

VWho so euer dothe know any person, to haue procured another, to be reconciled to the faith and religion of Rome,

me, though he hym selfe be no reconciler, nor is reconciled, yet, yf suche a one doe by any way or meane releue or succoure the sayd procurer, or yf he doe conceall, or not discouer the same procurer to some magistrate (as is aboue sayde:) shall incurr the same punyshment.

VVho so euer dothe know any person to haue counseled an other to be reconciled to the Romaine Religion, though he hym self dyd not procure it at all: yet yf he any way ayde such a counsayler, or cōceale or not discouer hym (as is before sayd:) he shall haue the same punyshment.

Yf one know any to haue perswaded, procured, or counseled an other to obey the byshopp of Rome, in causes Ecclesiasticall, and yet dothe ayde hym, cōceale or not bewraye hym (as is aboue sayde:) shall endure the same payne and punyshment.

VVho so euer knoweth any, which hath suffered hym self to be perswaded to obey the byshopp of Rome, in causes Ecclesiasticall, or which hath promised, ani obediēce to him for the time to come, and yet dothe any way ayde, or conceale suche a one, or doeth not discouer hym

14. For cō-  
cealing of  
counsellors

15. For con-  
cealing such  
as obey  
the pope.

16. For cō-  
cealing of  
promised  
obedien-  
tiaries.



# 58 OF THE PERSECVTION

within twentie dayes ( as is aforefayde ) he shall suffer the same penaltie of losse of all his goods and possessions, and of imprisonment.

17. For con-  
celing ab-  
soluors.

He which kuoweth anye priest, to haue absolued an other, and yet doeth ayde or conceale hym, or doeth not geue knowleige of hym, in sufficient tyme ( as is aforefayd ): shall be condemned in the same penaltie.

18. For con-  
cealing su-  
chas haue  
authoritie  
to, absolue.

Yf any know a priest to haue autho- ritie to absolue ( albeit the priest exercyse not the same, nor absolue any ) yf he ey- ther helpe or conceale hym, or do not discouer hym, ( as is aforefayd ) he shall abyde the same payne.

19. For con-  
cealing  
pretented  
absoluers.

VVho so euer knoweth any to pretēd to haue authoritie to absolue ( hough in dede he haue none ) and yet doeth ayde or conceale hym, or not discouer hym, ( as is aforefayd ) he shall suffer the same punishment.

20. For con-  
cealing the  
absolued.

Yf any knowe one to be absolued, were he willyngly absolued vppon his owne sute, or wittingly dyd but suffer hym selfe to be absolued, ( though he neuer desired it ): yet yf he any waye suc- coure, or conceale hym, or do not geue

notice of hym, (as is afore sayde) he shall haue the same punishment.

V Vho so euer knoweth anie to haue dissuaded an other frō the religiō nowe publiklie vsed in Englād, of intēt, to draw hym to the obedience of the bysopp, and religion of Rome: or knoweth any to haue bene a procurer, mouer or counseler, to such dissuadyng of any other: and doeth by any way or meane helpe, conceale, or not discouer hym to a magistrate withe in the space of twentie dayes, (as is aforesayd): he shall endure the same penalties, punishments and paynes, so often now remembred, vvhiche is as muche to saye in effect, as he shall lose all the ioyes, comfortes, & commodities which this mortall life can velde to mā.

21. For concealing dissuaders, of caluinitism,

And thus muche (for so farr as I now doe remēber) towching the penall lawes. By these onelye (though ther were no capitall lawes,) a man may easilye coniecture, in how hard termes, the Catholiques now in Englande doe stande, against whome, so many dredefull and moste perillous lawes are layed, lyke snares for their destructiō. who can haue a quiet mynde, whan he is withoute securitie to enioye



but one houre the verye necessities wher with he shold lyue, beinge on euerie syde hedged and listred yn with so many menasing lawes, the dawngers whereof he is not able to eschewe, except he wold be come impious? how great a swaye doe cauills beare among these Lawes? how great force hath malice here? how much oportunitie is geuen to iniquitye? Behold I praye you. Yf any persone do eyther ayd or cōceale the reconciler, or the reconciled, the absoluer or the absolued, the procurer, counseller dissuader, or fuche like: he is guiltie (saith the law) of an haynouse crime, & worthie to be punished, with losse of al his goods, yea and of his libertie allso. Let the matter it selfe passe: consider but onelye how wyde open to all iniustice the Catholiques do lye by meanes of thes lawes, yf one by chaunce or vnwittingly should receaue in to his house, some of the aforesayd persones, and a quareling fellow wold accuse hym, that he dyd yt wittingly: how cowlde he be hable in this case to defend him selfe, or what supportatiō might he finde for his owne innocēcy? If one wold dissuade a man from the heresie

of Caluin and neuer speake word at all of the byshopp of Rome: howe shall it appeare that he is not guiltie of treason? I meane, how shall he be able to bring in euidence, that he dyd not dissuade with this intent, that the other should reiect the phantasies of Caluin, and submitt hym selfe to the bisshepp & churche of Rome? Yes (yow will say) the perill may be easilie auoyded, if this felow shoulde plainly moue one to the religion of puritanes, Anabaptists, Arians, or yet of Atheists: In verie trueth I beleue it well: And surelie yt is not vnprobable that this same clause was so smotherlye couched to the rest by the penner of the lawe, in fauoure and maintenance of these and suche like heresies. Oh how miserable is the condicion of these owre dayes?

By the 21.  
Law before  
re mencio-  
ned.

Eche here-  
sie is mo-  
re safely  
defended  
in Englād,  
than the  
Catholi-  
que faith.

And thus muche touching cauillation and surmise. Nowv as to the vnequalitie of these lawes, what should a man say thereof, syth therbye at this daye in England the father is bownde to accuse hys sonne, the husband hys wyfe, the brother his brother, the penitent his ghostlie father, the seruant hys master, as yf it were for a myscheuouse crime? And wherfore

The vne-  
qualitie of  
the lawes  
aganist Ca-  
tholiques.



I praye yow?forsoothe for the Catholi-  
que religion,vnder which we were bor-  
ne,with which we were brought vpp,and  
instructed,and the verie same,whiche all  
other princes doe embrace and defende.  
The like to this withoute doubt, no age  
past hath tasted, no memorie of oure  
forefathers hathe heard,no antiquitie of  
former worldes hathe sene. These are  
the braynsick phantasies onlie of oure  
dayes,the variable innouacions of parti-  
cular places,the flexible willfullnesse of  
mans mynde,the moſte vaine cogitatiōs  
of fleshe and bloode, whereby men doe  
attempt to exchange the vnmutable tru-  
the of Christ for their owne phantasies  
to serue their owne turnes in respect of  
their owne commodities.

The capi-  
tall lawes  
against the  
Catholi-  
ques of En-  
gland.

But let vs yet see mo of these seuerē  
lawes,& that ys,the capitall lawes,whiche  
before,I haue called bloodye lawes,in  
this respect,for that they lye in wayte of  
bloode,and doe assaile,the verie lyfe of  
man. And in these lawes,first of all, there  
is one thing not vnmete to be noted,that  
all thes lawes,doe concern religiō onlie,  
and yet neuer the lesse they doe inferr not  
only the payne of deathe, but suche a

payne, as ys provided for offenses, committed against her maiesties persone, which of all other is a most greivous & most odious payne, as due for the most flagitious crime, and that ys treason or rebellion. And this course our adversaries doe take of speciall purpose, that the death of Catholiques, shoulde not seeme to be a martyrdom, but rather might be conveyed throughe the eares of the ignorant people, vnder the infamous blott of an haynous crime: and to the intent also that the prince might more easilie be persuaded, the Catholique religion to stand styfflie bent against her roiall scepter, and dangerous to the securitie of her regiment. Now when this foundation was ones laied, yt was no hard matter for the, to procure what lawes they lusted against Catholiques: Albeit in verye dede, she of her owne disposition, abhorreth suche violence, and effusion of mans blood. But nowe I come to the lawes, & thus the first beginneth.

VWho so euer shall saye, write, affirme, or by any maner of ciphar shall vtter, or yet being demaunded, shall confesse, that the byshopp of Rome is heade of the

ii. For admitting.  
dissuasion.



churche of England, or hath there anie Iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall: shall be reputed and taken for a traitor, and shall endure such pains of death, forfeitures & penalties, as are provided in cases of high treason, committed against the state.

2. For appellants to Rome.

He which for any cause doth hereafter appeale to the Byshoppe of Rome, and obtain from hym bulls or other instrumēt, and bring the same in to England: shall endure the punishment of highe treason.

3. For bringers in of hatowed thinges.

Yf any persone do hereafter bringe in to Englande any Agnus Dei, (as they call the) rosaries, hallowed grains, medalles, crucifixes, or any other thinge hallowed of the Byshoppe of Rome: shall be reputed demed and taken for a traitor.

4. For recusants of the othe.

What persone so euer beinge vnder the degree of a baron, to whome the othe or abiuration against the popes authoritie, and in the behalfe of the Quenes supreme powre in causes ecclesiasticall shall be thryse tendred, doe at the third tyme refuse to sweare: shall suffer the pains ordeined for highe treason.

5. For saying the queene is an heretique or scismatic.

Who so euer by anie waie or meanē doeth from hencefourthe say, write, signifie, or beinge demaunded, doeth confesse

fesse, that the quene is an heretique, or a Shismaticque: shall be subiect to the same pains for high treason.

If anie doe hereafter reconcile an other to the vnitie & communion of the sea of Rome: he shall suffer the same paines & punishemets provided for treason. 6. For reconcilers.

VVho so euer shal wittinglie and willingly be reconciled, to the same vnitie and communion: shall endure the same punishment. 7. For the reconciled

VVho so euer doeth hereafter procure any persone to be reconciled to the same vnitie and communion: shall be condemned to the same punishment. 8 For procurers of reconciliation.

VVhat persone so euer doethe from henceforth but onelie geue aduise or counsaile to anie to be reconciled to the same vnitie and communion, though he doe not procure the same: shall neuer the lesse haue the same punishment. 9. For counsaillers of reconciliation.

If anie persone doe hereafter persuaade an other to obeye the byshopp of Rome in causes ecclesiasticall; he shalbe condemned of the same crime of high treason. 10. For persuaders of obedience to the pope.

If anie suffer hym selfe to be persuaaded to suche obedience: he shall be de- 11. For admitting persuasion



med guiltie of the same crime of highe treason.

12. For procurers and counsaillers of such persuasion.

If anie doe procure suche persuasion to be vsed with an other, or geue counsaill thereunto: he shall suffer the same payne of highe treason.

13. For promisers of obediens.

If anie do promise to vse in time to come, anie suche obedience to the sea of Rome in causes ecclesiasticall: he shall endure the penalties prouided for highe treason.

14. For absoulers.

If a pryeste doe absolue anie of the quenes subiects: yt shall be Iudged to be highe treason.

15. For suche as haue authoritie to absolue.

If anie haue authoritie to absolue in England, thowghe he neuer doe in dede absolue anie: yet shall he neuerthelesse be demed and taken for a traitor.

16. For pretenders of authoritie.

If anie doe make a pretense or shewe that he hathe suche authoritie to absolue, though in truthe he haue none: yet shall he be reputed as a traitor.

17. Admitters of absolution.

If anie persone wittinglie be absolved of an other, be yt that he eyther made sute for the same absolution, or without making anie sute for it, suffred hym selfe to be absolved: he shall be punished as a traitor,

Yfanie do procure absolution for an other, he shall haue the same punishment.

18. procurers of absolution.

Yf any persone doe aduise or counsell an other to be absolued, though he do not procure yt to be done: yet shall he therfore suffer as a traitor.

19. Counsaillers of absolution

Yfanie doe eyther procure or counsell an other generallye to be an absoluer, all be yt that he do not moue hym to absolue any speciall persone: yet he shall neuer thelesse incurr the same punishment.

20. Procurers or counselors to absolue.

Yf anye doe hereafter dehorte or dissuade an other frome the religion now publiklye vsed & professed in Englad, or doe procure any such dissuasion, of intent that the persone whiche is to be dissuaded may be drawne to the obedience and religion of the sea of Rome: he shall be reputed demed and iudged guiltie of highe treason: and shall endure the same punishment, whiche is dewe for that crime. And that punishment is suche as foloweth.

21. Dissuaders of caluins religion.

First, that the persone condemned, and drawne a lōge byland to the place of execution, be (for his greater torment,) for religio

The paine of Catholiques condemned as traitors for religio



halfe strangled with an haulter : then is he to be lett doune, that whyles he is cōminge to hym selfe, his priuie members may be cutt of and brent in the fyre before his face: by and by his bellye is to be vpript with a knyfe, his gutts haled owte, and whiles he lyeth yet pantinge and struglinge: his hart, lungs, liuer, and all his bowells & intrales must be plucked fourth by the boucher, & throwne in to the fire there at hand: in thende, his bodye ys boyled, cut in peeces, & hanged by quarters at diuerse gates of the Citie. And as for his goods and possessions, they are all forfeited, and no parte thereof must descend to his vvyfe, children, or kynred: yea and they allso for this one mans sake are to be blotted with ignominie, and the whole posteritie of this dead creature vterlie attainted, and disteined in bloode for euer.

Are not these seuerer enough? are they not (think yow my frinde Gerard) sufficient sharpp for the professors of a religion which they receiued of their grand fathers and forefathers? And yet, for sooth, our ministers of Englād, those our innouators, our trōpett blowers of the

The vneauen dealing of the ministers of Englād.

euangelicall doctrine, and resemblers (for sooth) of Christian myldenesse, doe daylie exclaime forthe of pulpits, redouble thicke and threefold through their writen bookes, and beate in to the ears of the magistrate, yea and of the prince allso in daylie speeche, that to muche lenitie is vsed: that clemencie is daungerouse: that the toleration and forbearance, which is vsed in the whole course of that regimēt towards Catholiques, is blame woorthye, and not to be suffred. See nowe the vnadvised folie of spitefull and furiose persones.

Is there anie haynouse offense, or detestable acte, that can be more sharplye punished, than with these torments whiche here I haue sett downe? ys there anie forte of men so vngraciouse, as could be withe mo lawes lysted abowte, withe greater paines restrained, to mo perills subiected, to mo mischeues and inconueniences layde opē, than the Catholicks are in Englande by theyse lawes? And yet, whan all is done, wherein haue these poore Catholiques offended? VVhat maner of crime ys to be imputed to the faithe and religiō of our grand fathers and auncestours? vvell,



theyſe aduerſaries vvere ones of one ſocietie vvith vs, but novv, vvhan they haue taken hold of Caluines faithe, forſaken Luthers religion, and contemned oures: they haue made them ſelues oure maſters, they haue baniſhed vs ovvt of our ovvne houſes, and thruſten vs frome all degrees of honor and eſtimation. But for oure part, vve make no complaint thereof: let them take, and vſe all at their moſte libertie. Then vvhye are they not here withall content? whye procede they further ſely poore mē? vvhat meane they to aſſaile oure ſoules? whye are they ſo rigorous againſt oure bloode? howe is yt, that nothinge can ſatisfie them but oure deathe, or oure extreme calamitie? yf the quarell whiche they haue againſt vs, be for no other thinge, but onelye for oure faithe: alas, there are other petye ſects no leſſe ennemyes to Caluine thā we are: yet can they be content very frindlie to entertaine them, and to vſe their favorable miniſterye. But yf a paddlye hydd in the ſtrawe: yf Varres be affrayed to be called to accompte by order of lawe: behold, we are contēt to delyuer them from that trouble, to ſeale them an acquittance, and

to yelde of oure owne right and interest. Marye, this is the thinge which we onelie desire, that this be not to vs an ouerthrow, and an occasion of theyre perpetuall displeasure against vs, for that ones we enioyed oure natie soyle, whiche now we want: for yf this hadd not happened, their publique weale hadd now bene none.

And thus muche of the lawes. Nowe, yow see how muche oure aduersaries are hable to doe against vs, vnder the pretense of theyse lawes: but how muche more they wolde fayne doe, the matter it selfe declareth euidentlye, in that they are not content with the seueritie now vsed, but earnestlie call for sharper & more painfull lawes euerye daye. And yet verylie I doe not thinke, that anie Christian can haue so hard and yroned a harte (onlesse he haue lost bothe feelinge of humanitie and faithe) but might be moued to compassion with theyse extremities, which oure poore Catholiques doe suffer.

For no lamentable distresse can be imagined in anye kynde of calamitie, well nighe, which theyse men do not daylie

The termes vvhether in Catholiques doe stand in Engla.



beare, no trouble in anye condition of men, can be thought on, which they doe not continuallye susteyne. In so muche, as they may moste truelie say, with the A-

2. Cor. 6. postle: in tribulatiōs, in necessities, in distresses, in strypes, in prysons, in tumultes, in labors. And

2. Cor. 11. with, the same soldioure of Christe in an other place: in perills vvith in the Citie, in perills in vvildernes, in perills in the sea, in perills amonge false brethren, in trauaile and miserie. Yea they may also say further, as the Apostle saythe: *euen in deathe of tīmes.*

Heb. 11.

Yet further, that same may be applyed vnto thē, and not vnaptlye. Skornefull mockes and beatings haue they felt, ouer and besyde bothe fetters and prysons, they haue bene racked, they haue bene cutt and mangled, they haue abydden temptations and trialls, they haue bene slayne vvith the svvoorde. And to conclude, that same also verye fytlye agreeth vnto them, vve are made a spectacle to the vvorlde, to angels and to men: vve are euell spoken of, and vve say vvell of others: vve suffer and endure persecution: vve are blasphemed and vve pray, for them: vve are accompted the parings of the vvorlde, and the refuse of all to this daye.

1. Cor. 4. them, vve are made a spectacle to the vvorlde, to angels and to men: vve are euell spoken of, and vve say vvell of others: vve suffer and endure persecution: vve are blasphemed and vve pray, for them: vve are accompted the parings of the vvorlde, and the refuse of all to this daye.

But to make all theyse more euident, it shall not be (perhaps) farr from the

purpose, yf I touche euerye thing yet more particularlie.

And fyrst (to speake of the last executiō, whiche oure Catholiques do endure in the ende of all) yt can not be doubtful (I think) to anie, how manye men, and what maner of men, haue bene put to moſte paynfull deathe, as ſtrangled, bowelled, cut in ſunder, boyled, and diſperſed by peece meale in the ayre, and all for religion: and though our aduerſaries (for more reproche) make a ſurmise of treaſon: yet the matter is manifeſt, and they them ſelues do not denye, that only religion is the cauſe of this deathe.

The laſt  
puniſhe-  
ment of Ca-  
tholiques.

I make no mention here, of the greate nōber of thoſe moſte reuerend biſhopps, doctours, prielts, and other confefſors of Chriſt, whiche in pryſon haue bene either choked with filthie ſtinkyng ſauour, or cōſumed with ſorowe and hungar, whoſe cauſes we referr to the Iudgement ſeate of Chriſte alone. I ſpeake here of them onely, whiche openly in the ſight of all men, haue geuē teſtimonie to the truethe, with their owne bloode. VVho (beſydes the verye torment of the executiō, & that common contumelie, where in they die



Slaunde-  
ringe of  
deade mē.

(in the opinion of the people) as traitors to the state, and not as Catholiques, haue allso (for the moste part) this rewarde, and good turne geuen them whan they are deade, that they are slaundered in disperfed libells with some notable false surmise throwne oute against their maners and doctrine.

Paradoxes  
falsely im-  
puted to  
M. HANSE.

In this wise verie latelie whan they had hanged on their common gallo-  
wes, that godlie and zelouse priest Eue-  
rard Hanse, and were affrayed lest some  
perchaunce, wolde be moued with the  
martyrdome of that Innocent: they gaue  
owt in two contrarie bookes, thone im-  
pugnyng thother, certaine monstruouse  
errors and paradoxes, (I knowe not  
what,) and made this deade man the au-  
thor thereof: Suche as this: *that the bishopp  
of Rome can not erre*: where as in trueth mai-  
ster Hanse dyd speake expresselye of the  
doctrine of faithe that is to be published  
to the vniuersall church, and therein only  
he sayd, that the pope could not erre.

And this is an other: *that no prince hath  
anye supremacie within his owne dominions,  
sauing the byshopp of Rome onlie*: where in  
dede he spake onlie of the supremacie of

the Catholique church in causes Ecclesiasticall. And this also: *that no treasō against the quene of Englad is a synn.* VVheras being now at the point redie to be executed to deathe and repeting his owne woords diuers tymes before the people there present, he affirmed that he spake not of euery kinde of treason, but of that onlie, for the which withowt desert he was then in dyeing, and which his aduersaries vndiscretely call treasō, being in truethe no other thing, than a nedefull confession of the Catholique faithe. For now by the recitall of the lawes before mencioned, yt is manifeste, how many cheefe points and principles of oure faithe, they haue drawne to the case of hyghe treason.

Principles  
of faithe  
made trea-  
son.

In this point therefore, oure aduersaries excede the malice of auncient persecutors, that they do not make knowen the true cause why they martyre men, though them selues doe confesse the same. And yet the deuell in those forme of tymes had sowne muche seede of this iniquitie, whē S. Paule as pernicious & seditions: yea & oure sauoure Christ: as one seducing the people, & forbyddinge to paye tribute to Caesar: were moſte iniuriously flandered.

Act. 24.  
Luc. 24.



Sauuage  
rudenes.

But nowe it is (I suppose) skant woor-  
the the laboure, to put downe here in  
writing, with how greate reproches, with  
what outcries, with how many mocks  
and skorns, with how fower and spite full  
skoffes, with how bitter and vnsauourye  
taunts, with what rustling noyle and dyn-  
ne of mutteringe male cōtents, and fowle  
mowthed detractors, they se our martyrs  
were strangled, and in the sight of all the  
peoplerent and torne in peeces: for the  
thinge of it selfe is lothesome to the  
eyes, and terrible to the eares. O howe pi-  
tifull is owre case, whiche are fallen in to  
these tymes, whan we see so greate ri-  
goure practised by christians againste  
christians, for the christian faith?

Contume-  
lies against  
Catholi-  
ques.

And thus muche for the paynes and  
punishments ordeined for Catholiques:  
Nowe lett vs saye somethinge of the cō-  
tumelies that they abyde before their dea-  
thes: but it is an infinit & endlesse matter,  
it can not be expressed in fewe woords.  
For I thinke verelie, that Catholiques no  
where in the world, no not amonge Moo-  
res, Gothes, Tartars, Saracens, Turcks, or  
what so euer other confederats, or swor-  
de enemies of Christe, could be more

skornfullie, than they are by these contumeliouse and disdeinfull new gospellers.

Yf they take a priest at masse: a man wold marueyle to see, how impiously & how despitefully they behaue them selues. First, for the sacred yea and consecrated hoste, they take it away with violence, treade it vnder foote, thrust it through with knyues and daggers, fasten it to a poste, and with great wounder shewe it to Catholiques, insult and triumphe against yt in all skoffing and skornfull manner, and call it (suche is their blasphemie) the wheaten or breadie god of papists. Now as to the priest, whan they haue (after their maner) first intreated hym yll withe in doores, then they bring hym forth abroad, and in the selfe same attyre wherein they fownde hym standinge at the aultar, they haile and chase hym abowte, throwghe stretes and villages, where all folke gaze and stare vppon hym the whole multitude skorne hym, yea & some spytt in his face, but the moste part scolde, and raile against hym, and euerie one (well nighe) dothe practise some particuler spite and iniurie against this

Howe a  
priest is en-  
treated  
that is ta-  
ken at mas-  
se.



feruant of Christ. Then they lock hym fast in the counter, or laye hym vpp in some other prison: they bynde hym in yron cheyns, loade him with bolts and thakles, and (yf it like them) they put hym to the rack, and torture: or else, whan they haue vexed hym in euerie part with the rodd of all maner of reprochefull punishments: they hale hym fourthe to the place of Iudgement, and theyr, bothe hym, and all them which were present at his masse, they do condemne to prison, and to paye that summe of money for their fine or raunsome, whiche I tolde yow before is to be payde for this so hainous a fault (God wote) of hearing masse.

And whan all this is done and past, (yf they thinke it may anie way further their affaires to dispatche the man quyte out of the waye, and kill hym) they exhibit vnto hym interrogatories touchinge some articles of the aforesayde capitall lawes: they appose hym with captiouse and subtile questions: they vrge hym vpon his alleageaunce to answer directlie & plainlie. V What nede manie woords? Doe they not easelie (think yow) beate oute of the poore man some thinge that may suffice

to serue their turne? yes in dede: for a staffe  
is euer at hande to beate a dogg.

Of prisons.

And here because I haue made men-  
cion of imprysonmēt, and yow in yowre  
letters request aduertisemēt of some par-  
ticulars thereof by name: I will saye so-  
me thing allso of prisons: whereof this  
shall be the first: that they are all very  
full replenished and stuffed vpp with Ca-  
tholiques, in so muche as there is skante  
anieromthe for theues. Manie prisōs are  
newe builded of late, but all doe not suffi-  
ce. The Tower of London, (in time past  
used for traitors,) is nowe fraught full of  
priests. Yea, oure Bridewell, an infamouse  
place of light houswyues & lewed folke,  
is not withoute some parte. For it is not  
longe synce a yong maide, a gētle woman  
borne, confessinge the Catholique faith  
some what zeloussie, was thrust in to this  
dishonorable place by the Superintēdent  
of London.

Mistresse  
Tomson.

Nowe to the wantes, distresses and  
inner troubles of prisoners I dare saye  
nothing, lest with my complaint I might  
afflict the afflicted more. This neuer the-  
lesse is common, that no frinde of theirs  
may visit them, all intercourse of speche



and letters is forbidden, strayte watche is layde, & narroulie it is obserued who resorteth vnto them, in so muche as none withoute present perill, can eyther geue them any almes or other wayes releiue them with any woorke of charitie. And I heare of muche harder dealings, concerning the order of their diet, Ipeciallie in the prisons at york and hull. Yett because those extremities may procede perhaps of some peculiar frowardnesse of Iailers: I will not touche them here as afflictions common to all prisoners.

The prison  
at Lanson.

But yet the report of a rigoure vsed in a prison at Lanson in the countie of Cornwale, is certeinlie true, and the fact more than barbarous. For whan syx (as I wene) or eight Catholiques were shooneled together and piled vpp in to one hole: though they were of good calling, and for more part gentlemen borne: yet had they neyther meate geuen them, nor allowed to them, other than vnsauorie and Lothesome, yea and begged of almes from doore to doore, nor vse of any water but of corrupt & filthie. And as for place of easement to theyre bodilie necessities, they had none at ali, other than the

the verie floore where on they dyd lye. But of all other this exceded: that when theyſe poore wrechcs beganne at laſt to complaine of this inhumaine and ſauage crueltie: the layler threatned them further, that he wolde from thenceforth tye the to maungers, and feede them like brute beaſtes. Yet in the ende by lōge ſute and continuall ſoliciting of fryndes, yt came to paſſe, that they were removed from this priſon abowte two hundred miles thence, and poſted ouer to a priſon in london, with a common garde. Of which pilgrimage this was the ceremonie & circumſtance.

A ſauage  
parte of a  
layer.

Euery one of them was ſett on a ſelle leane, & bare horſe, withoute bridle ſpur, or other furniture for a horſeman: the horſes were faſtned eche one to others taile, marchinge in a long rewe one after another. Eche mans feete were tyed vnder his horſe bellie, and his armes were bound hard & faſt behinde hym. VVhen they came neare to anie citie, or towne: one was appointed to ryde before, and to geue warning to the inhabitants, that there were cominge at hand, certain papiffs, foes to the Goſpell, and enemies in the

Howe Ca-  
tholiques  
are led to  
priſon in  
England.



common weale. Vppon whiche notice, the people beinge sturred vpp, dyd runne in flocks foorth of their houses in to the stretes, and welcome the commers with as spitefull contumelies as they could.

Maister Edmund Campian of the Societie of Iesus, led i triumphe.

VVith a verie like pomp and solemnitye (fashioned and framed all together for reproche, & to euery tricke & toye of mockerye) dyd they latelie leade throughe the citie of london, twelue catholicks, whereof fyue were priests, & the rest were of good estate and callinge. Their fault forsoothe was this: they were fownde prayeing & at masse all in one house with maister Edmund Campian, of the Societie of Iesus, a greate lerned clerk, a harmelesse and verie Innocent man. This good man, for offeringe to the ministers a most iust defense of hys faithe by waye of disputation, was by oure aduersarie flaundered as a sediciouse persone, and to that end and effect, a large paper was most spitefullie written with great letters, which they forced hym to beare vppon his heade in this triumphe. All this the good mā did beare (not vnlike as Christ dyd beare the title and superscription of his crosse)

Calmelye, myldlie, modestlie, with a gladd mynde and a cherefull countenance.

At last after this tragedie was ended, when they were come to the tower of London: as they had before that tyme entreated other of gods seruants, and speciallie priests: so dyd they now put Maister Campian to the racke and to extreme torments, and therby vvold haue vvrested ovvte of hym, in vvhat places he had seiourned, in vvwhose houses he had bene entertained, by vvwhose frinde shipp and liberalitie he had bene mainteined, vvhere he had bated or inned: vvhome he had visited by the vvaie, vvhome he had made of his counsaile, vvwhose help, and industrie he had vsed, and (to be shorrey) vvho they vv ere throughe oute all England, vvliche fauoure the Catholique religion, and vvho abhorre Caluianism in theyre harts. O haynouse crimes, sufficient (no doubt) to bringe free borne men to be turmoiled in so exquisite maner of examination, & that by torture too, euen, for a mere surmise, and but a suspicion there of.

How Catholiques be tormented in the tower.

Light causes of torture.

Now (I praye yow) tell vs yf yow can whe was this practise vsed anie where befo-



re these dayes? In what barbarous Scythia was this as much as heard of by any report at any tyme, that free borne men, of honest state & condition, lerned, of good education, well instructed and trayned vpp in gentlemanlye maner, dedicated and vowed to the sacred function of priesthoode, should be for the testimonie onlie of an auncient religion, of longe continuance left vnto them by their aunceltours, stauled vpp in cages to be racked on a payne banke (as bond slaues were wonte to be) and with dire and horrible paines, grieues, & afflictions wrested and writhen owte of their ioyns, vnlesse they will appeache, & traiterously deliuer vp to the torture theyre owne companions in faith and profession: whiche to doe they are forbidden by the lawe of nations, by the rule of nature, by ciuile duetie, by common honestie, & by euery religion? Ys this (think yowe) a verie iust cause of torture? ys this a reason effectually enoughe to bringe men to their inquisition? speciallye so extreme, so rigorouse, so seruile a maner of inquisition for free borne men to endure? dyd Catholiques in any aige practise this, euē against the desperate

and peruerfest heretiques?

Assuredlie, yf there were nothing elles to admonishe a circūspect and attentue perlone of the fraude of heresie, and of that desperate wickednesse, vvhich lyeth lurking vnder her hypocrisie: though the noueltie of their opimons, the contrarietie amonge the felues, the variable vncertaintie of their assertiōs, theyr licentious dissolution in conuersation of lyfe coulde saye nothinge to the matter: yet this one thing wolde (to hym I saye that hathe good eyes & eares) sufficiētli disco-  
uer the whole frame of all theyre dissimu-  
latiō: to wytt: that these self same felowes which of late so freshe ye professed all kinde of humanitie and courtesie, & haue so fiercely inueihed against the Catho-  
lique church of Christe for her most eauen and most indifferent discipline, by moste iust and moste auncient lawes ordeined, doe nowe vse suche sauage cruel-  
tie vpon light and triflinge causes, as the very churlish, rude, and barbarouse dyd-  
skant practise for moste haynouse of-  
fences.

The dissim-  
ulation  
of heresie.

VVell, he must beare with my greefe and sorowe, who so euer thinketh my



woordes to be ouer sharpp. For I am displeased in dede and not well content; but not so muche with these men, which haue committed these owtrages (for I beseeche God forgeue them): as I am with heresie, by whose meanes these men (not cruell of their owne nature, but muche disposed rather to lenitie and mekenesse) are dryuen in to so greate (I will not saye woodenesse, lest I shoulde offend them, but) sharpp angriness in dede, and fore displeasure against their owne: as, neither for neighbourhoode of one natie soile, nor for integritie of lyfe, ornamēt of learning, or flower of aige they can be induced, nor in respect of the prerogative of freedome, nor in regarde of the priuilege of priesthoode, nor by intreatie of woordes, nor by abundance of teares they can be moued to take pitie and compassion vppon innocents and guiltlesse men, nor can be stayed backe from doing extreme and outragious violence. I humbly beseeche oure most mercifull and most mightie God, that this huge offence be not imputed vnto them, but rather that they may finde mercie in the day of oure Lorde, who in their owne day, that is, in

the daye of man, haue showed no mercie  
to theire bretheren.

Esa. 13.

1. Cor. 4.

But now I omit to speake of the other  
outrages, whiche in this Tower of Lon-  
don are perpetrated, and patientlie endu-  
red. For though they be manie and verie  
greuous: yet can they not easilie come to  
oure knowleige, by reason of that close  
and straite warde, wherein the sound of  
all speche, and mourninge of the afflicted  
is shutt vpp frome the eares of them that  
are abroad. Nay, oure aduersaries be-  
stowe no small diligence in this point:  
that the afflictions and torments whiche  
are there practised within doores, be  
not browght to the knowleige of them  
that are withoute: but buried rather in  
darknesse, and cleane hyd in blynde and  
obscure dungeons. But yf these break  
foorth at any time, & the doolefull voi-  
ce of the afflicted be plainelie hearde: then  
are those felowes greuouselye offended,  
and either flatlie denie all that was done,  
or with pleasant woords extenuate the  
matter.

The straite  
warde &  
euell en-  
creaty Ca-  
tholiques  
in the to-  
wer.

For twyse nowe of late Maister Cam-  
pian hath bene pulled on the rack. And  
what aduersarie dyd not vtterlie denye



yt? Yet at length the truthe of the matter came to light, when maister Campian him selfe dyd vtter it in an open audience, & in the hearinge of oure aduersaries: twit, (sayde they) yt was a mery pastime: he was cramped or pulled a lytle, not in earnest, but in ieaſte. After the ſame maner they Ieaſted of others, whiche had bene racked before. So greate delite theſe merie conceited felowes doe take, in makinge ſkoſſes and ſports of the afflictions of forie poore men.

Oure ad-  
uerſaries  
accuſto-  
med to lie.

But they haue yet an other ſtratageme or politike ſhyft, familiarlie acquainted in this tower: that is, to ſurmile and forge what they luſt of the priſonner, & to publiſhe it to his ſhame, and for a trapp to beguile other Catholiques. The thing is euident, and hath plenty of examples: but becauſe I purpoſe to be breefe, I will touche but a few.

VWhen maister Campian had bene afflicted wyth torments: it was reported that he had confeſſed what ſoeuer they had demaunded of him: ſpecialie at whoſe houſes, & in what places he had bene. And (to geue to the lie his right ſhape and perfection) it was further bruted a

brode; that he had promiled a recantation of I know not what. But that tale no man thought to be probable: yet there were that doubted thereof, because the aduersaries had so earnestly affirmed it. For many gentlemen, and some of the nobilitie were called vp to London, from their owne howses, and charged with a supposed confession of maister Campiā: And yet in verie truthe (as afterward it well appeared) he neuer yeelded one worde to his torments.

A like shyft the lieutenant of the tower vsed, & (of purpose to laye a bate to seduce others, by some example) affirmed openlye at a common session, that there were no catholiks vnder his warde, whiche refused to goe to the churche of oure aduersaries: yet it was well known to all there, that euen they whome he ment of, went not willinglie to the churche, but vppon compulsion and drawne by violence had bene present at a few sermons, yet they allways openly spake against the same, called the preacher from his rayling speche, and chalenged hym to disputation, euen in the presence of the same lieutenant albeit angerlie he threat-

In the  
guildhall  
at London



ned them often with heuy bolts & shakles. But it is harde by writing to discourse through all the particulers in euery kynde of affliction, whiche the prisioners in that tower doe endure: yet such as haue some tyme bene present vewers of the matter doe tell vs parte : vppon whose faithfull relation I will putt downe this one to geue a coniecture of the rest.

Conper.

Ther was a yonge man, of honest parentage, well entred in learninge for he had bene Scholar & seruant to Doctor harpessfeild a verie lerned man, that dyed in pryson for christs cause. This yonge man, for religion and learning sake, had appointed a Iourney in to these parts: And being redie for it, made his repaire to the hauen (with the wealthe that he had got together in money or other things) of purpose to passe over the sea. But by some chaunce the matter was discovered, the yonge man was apprehended by an officer, and sent backe to London: where first he was spoiled of all his goods and caste in to the Tower of London: there he was verie straitelie kept in that part of the prision whiche, ys called Beauchamps Tower, destitute of all comforte

Beauchamp,  
tower.

and consolation nedefull for man ; fa-  
 uing one forie bedd, that his frindes sent,  
 and yet hardlie could he be allowed to  
 haue yt. V Vithin a while after, this yon-  
 ge man (beinge but of a weake comple-  
 ction, and accustomed to open and cleare  
 ayre) partlie throughe Hungar and colde,  
 partlie through the filthie sauoure , and  
 lothesomenesse of the place , and corru-  
 ption of the aire, dyd fall in to a sicknesse,  
 and semed to be vexed with an ache, or  
 giddinesse of his heade. The lieutenant Nevv fonn  
de phisick.  
 hearinge hereof , deuised a meruelouse  
 straunge medicine for this disease. For he  
 commaunded the bedd to be takē awaye,  
 that for the better recouerie of his heal-  
 the, he might lie vpon the bare floore. To  
 be short : within fewe dayes the poore  
 mā dyeth, sterued, wasted, & pined awaie  
 by extremitie of colde and Hungar : and  
 thereof remained this evident testimonie  
 and prooffe, that when his clothes were to  
 be taken of, that he might be buried: his  
 flesh being putrified and rotten by cold,  
 dyd sticke fast to his hose, and was with  
 the hose pulled of from the bare bones,  
 & fell in gobbetts vppō the grownd: a pi-  
 tifull sight of a churlishe barbarousnesse



and of an odd kynde of crueltie. Neuer thelesse there be men yet lyuinge whiche dyd see this with their eyes. And (were it not for their perill) I coulde name the.

And because I am entred in to this kinde of talke: I will be some what more liberall than my promise. And one other example I will laie downe, to let you see what good store I haue, yf I lyst to set it forthe to the shewe.

Shear  
woode.  
The ladie-  
regonell.  
Martin her  
sonne.

An other yong man not vnlike the former, the sonne of a Catholique cōfessor dyd frequent the house of a right woorshipfull ladie, who had a sonne cleare opposite and contrarie to the mother, and one full gorged with Caluine. This man dyd fume and freate in his mynde verie much for that he demed his mother had masse oftē times in her house by this yong mans helpe and procurement. On a time therfore, as he by chaunce dyd mete the yong man in a strete in London: he crieth verie outragiouslye, O rebell and traiter: take holde on the traiter, for by this terme they name vs, to make vs more odious: and with this kynde of moste vniust ignominie they vexe vs. The they of the citie hearing these woordes, trai-

ter and rebell, leape forth of their shop-  
pes, laye hands on the man, and hale hym  
to the Iustices or commissioners. And at  
their next session when he came before  
them: the exclamer had nothing whereof  
to accuse the yong man, nothing where  
with to charge hym, saue onlie a bare su-  
spition of the Catholique religion: for he  
was not hable to conuince hym of the fa-  
cte. The commissioners not withstan-  
dinge wolde not geue hym leaue to de-  
parte. For a presentment of religion is of  
all other moste adious. And yf the pre-  
senter want sufficient matter: the present-  
ment is helped and set forward by in-  
terrogatories and questions, to be mini-  
stered by the commissioners them selues.

The Iustices therfore examine the yong  
man, what he dothe beleue, or thinke  
touching the chiefe points of faithe. And  
at last by way of argument they wreste  
oute, that he supposeth the byshopp of  
Rome ought to haue chiefe authoritie in  
causes Ecclesiasticall, yea, and in England  
also. Vpon the hearing hereof: there fo-  
llowed a like sentence as was geuen in an *Marc. 14.*  
other session of Iustices. *VVhy require vve  
any further prooffe? yee haue heard blasphemie.*



*me, vvhhat thinke you? all they cōdemned hym to be giltye of deathe.*

Then was he remoued ouer to the tower of London, & there Layde vp in a priuie chamber neare to the place where the Ingines for torments do lie. In the meane season his chamber which he had in the citie, was ryfled and ransacked, and all his goods snatched vp, & therewithall aboute thirtie pounds english more, (whiche he had taken vp of other men for debtes oweing to his moſte miſerable afflicted father) were alſo ſtolen & carried away. VVell, the poore man in priſon was ſore afflicted with torments, to enforce hym to diſcouer the places where he had heard maſſe: for being but a laye man he coulde not hym ſelfe ſay maſſe. Then, after verie greuouſe torments, which he endured with greate courage (for, ſo much an aduerſarie that had bene there preſēt dyd cōfeſſe:) he was throwen into a verie obſcure doungeon, that was bothe darke & dredefull, withoute light, withoute bedding, withoute nedefull apparell. And of his dyet you may eaſilie coniecture, when he coulde not be allowed to haue anie peece or paringe of

his owne goods, no not for the necessarie sustentation of his owne lyfe: Nay, there is an other thing that doeth looth me to tell. For when a certein deuoute and charitable man being ( vppon the common brute of this yong mans extreme calamitie ) moued to compassion, had sent a Sum of money to be conueyed vnto this poore man for his releefe, and by the mean of an other prisoner had deliuered the same to his vnder keper (for here eche prisoner hathe his vnder keper ): the vnder keper receiued the money, and brought it againe the next day to hym of whome he had yt, and tolde hym that the lieutenant of the tower wolde not suffer the poore man to enioy the benefit of that almes. And when the keper was verie earnestlie requested to take parte thereof & bestowe it in some thinge for the poore mans releefe he denyed to take yt, and sayd that he might not in anie wise take apenny, except it vvere six pence to bye hym strauve to lye vppon. So malitiouselic bent vvas that lieutenant against the felic poore man.

M. vwillia  
Roper.

In the ende after six moneths ( as I thinke ) vvere ouer passed in this mooste



Protestants  
are mercie-  
lesse to Ca-  
tholiques

grievous kinde of Martirdome they draw hym forth along throughe the stretes on a hurdle, and hang hym vp a litle, let hym dovvn againe, and then as he is in reuiuing, they afflict hym vvith the other kinde of tortures, vvhiche they vse to practise vppon suche as are traiters to the state, but in farre more terrible maner than they handle those traiters. For oure aduersaries are more rigourouse and more mercyleffe against vs, than they are againste anie sort of malefactors, howe vngratiouse naughtie so euer they be. For when these by order of lawe are to suffer the same kynde of deathe, they fynde suche fauoure, as either they are, by compassion and pitie of oure aduersaries, full deade before they be cut downe from the galowes: or in dede the execution is so handled according to the prescript rule of the lawe, as they are suffered to hang till they be halfe deade at the least, to dull the sense and felyng of payns in the torments foloweinge. But farre otherwise it is in the case of Catholiques. For they are no soner hanged, than the hangman enforceth hym selfe in a furiose maner of haste to cut the hault-  
ter

ter in sunder, & whiles thei are yet aliue,  
and alyue lyke, yea and of perfect sence  
and felyng: he bringeth them to the other  
torments: and this oftentime he doeth so  
readilie, and with such dexteritie and  
nimblenesse: as not onlie their senses for  
moste parte are perfect, but they speake  
also distinctlie and plainlie after their  
bowells be digged vp, yea and whiles the  
bouchars fyngars are scratchinge at their  
verie harts and intrailes.

And yet this bloodie sight woorketh  
no compassion in the harts of oure ad-  
uersaries: but they deride and skorne the  
lorie poore wights, yea and spitefullie  
raile against them, euen whiles they are  
yet in dyeing, and specially yf anie being  
ouercome with payne doe grone, or hap-  
pen (whiche is verie rare) to make anie  
lamentable noyse. For thus a certein  
preacher of theirs (and not a mean one)  
in a printed booke doeth collect & con-  
clude, that oure verie Martyres, are not  
Martyres, because forsuthe (saith he) one  
of them cried oute in his torments, and  
(that I may vse his owne woords) *dye  
yell and howle like a bell hownde.* O good-  
lie sentence well besemyng suche a prea-

Fulke



cher. O new fownde charitie of a new fownd gospell: what euer hacker or ruffian wolde haue vttered such a woorde withoute blushing? what euer cutthroate hath shewed so sauage and barbarouse a mynde?

Iac. 3.

Eccle. 2.

But trulie these felowes seme to degenerate cleane from all sense & felyng of humane nature, and to be quite transformed in to ( I can not tell what ) vnaturall wildenesse, vtterlie forgetfull of that sentence: *Iudgement vvithoute mercie to hym vvwhich hathenot shewved mercie*: And speciallye of this sayeing. *A hard hart shall fele sorowve in the last day*: This appeareth not onlye by these examples whiche I haue allredy put downe, but by infinite other allso, whiche now I may not profecute, lest I should be longer than an epistle may suffer. Yet I will note vnto yow some suche things by way of example, as may make the matter mooste cleare and euident.

M. Tirvvit  
sonne to  
Sir Robert  
Tirvvit.

A certain yong gentleman, of an ancient and right woorshipfull familie, was accused for hearing of a masse celebrated (as it was reported) at the mariage of his sister. VVhere vppon he fled from his fa-

thers house, and kept hym selfe secret in London the yere last past. And there, by reason of his trauaile in flyeing awaye, and ( as I think ) through the intemperature of the sōmer, he fell in to a greuouse feuer. The aduersaries hearing hereof, doe runne vnto him by and by, and in all haste will nedes pull hym oute of the house, and throwe hym in to prison, euen as he then was, feble, faynt, and greuousslye sicke. This semed to the beholders thereof to be a maner of dealing bothe churlishe & detestable. They pray, they intreate, they make intercession, they vse all the means they can, to moue the aduersarie to haue consideration of the sick, not to heape sorow vpon sorow, nor affliction vpon an extremely afflicted man, not to take away the lyfe of so comelie a yong gentleman: they proffer as sufficient assurance for his forth coming, as his aduersaries wolde demaund, and to vnder take for his appearance before the iustices immediatlie vpon the recouerie of his healthe: but it will not be accepted. The phisitions come, they affirm for certein, that he is vtterlie vndone and castē away, yf he shoulde be remoued forthe of that



place in to the inconueniēces of a prison. All this is nothinge regarded : they layd hands on the sickeman, haled hym away, shut hymvp in prillō, & with in two days next after he dyed: they burie hym, and make no bones of the matter, nor scruple, or anie regarde at all.

M. Dim-  
mok.

Euen so yt feel oute against a right woorthipfull and valyant gentleman, one (for a peculiar honor in the Armurie whiche he dyd beare) verie famouse, and sonne in law to the right honorable Erle of lincolne. This gentleman had bene troubled many yeres with a vehement palsey, & suche a resolutiō of his sinewes, as he was not hable to goe forth of his owne house, or moue a foote oute of his place, but as he was lyfted or holden vp by the hands or armes of his seruants. At the last vpon an informatiō touching the Catholique Religion, preferred against hym to the superintendent of that prouince (for by that terme wolde they be named whiche now detein the possessiōs of auncient byshopriks:) he was noted & appeached as suspected to holde the faith of his aunceters: and thereupon he was summoned to appeare before the cō-

missioners as euidentlie guiltie of Catholisme or Catholicque Religion, which they in contempt call papistrie. But this palsey sickeman appeared not. Neuerthelesse he made his owne excuse verie aduisedlie by letters. Yet is it not accepted: for the superintendent hym selfe cometh with all spede to the diseased mans house, & throwghlie veweth with his owne eyes the impotencie of the gentleman: but no motion of cōpassion entereth in to this superintendents brest: he cōmaundeth hym to be caried to the Iaile. VVhat nede manie woords? Nether the age of that man, nor his degree in callinge, nor the woorthipp of his kynred, nor the noble-nesse of his affinitie, nor the resolution of his limbs coulde delyuer hym from the present trouble and mischefe of imprisonment.

VVhat folowed? by these inconueniencies in verie short space after, he dieth. And yet they leaue hym not when he is dyeing: yea then they vexe and afflict hym more. For they come when he is extreme sick, they come whiles he is wrestling with the pangs of deathe, they come as he is passing oute of this lyfe, they come



whiles he is yeelding vp the Ghooft: then they trouble hym: the they doe not suffer hym to rest, nor permit hym to die in suche sorte as he desired to die: (for his desire was to die according to the custome of the vniuersall christian church: ) but then the ministers flocke aboute hym: the they intrude them selues vpon hym: then they vrge him to praye such sorie prayers of their owne making, as in healthe he cōtemned, in sicknesse with open voice he reiected, and (nowe dum & halfe deade,) by his countenaunce, by signes & tokens, & by gesture of his bodie he dyd vtterlie detest and abhorre. VVhat greater vncourtesie, or crueltie rather, can be imagined than this?

Mistresse  
Thimilbie

But here I may not passe ouer in silence an other matter which happened at the same time, and in the same citie. For a yonge gentle woman, vpon licence first obteyned, dyd goe for deutie sake to vyisit her husbād, & entered into the prison where he lay for religion. VVhen this was knowne: the superintendent (as one rediecto catche holde of a pray fallen in to his owne snare) geueth cōmaundemēt to shut her vp allso in prison. The gentle

woman shortly after (either vpon some  
greefe conceiued for this inhumane dea-  
lyng, or through terror of some further  
treacherie, or elles vpon some annoyance  
taken by the distemperature and lothe-  
somenesse of the place) is possessed with a  
verie greuouse sicknesse, and falleth into  
a manifest perill of her lyfe. And when yt Greate in-  
humanitie  
was looked for euerie houre that she  
wolde die: her sorowfull husbände made  
humble sute that she might be enlarged  
alittle, & remoued (yf it were but for one  
daye) forth of the prision, to some other  
place, where she might vse the helpe of  
skillfull women. But his sute wolde not  
be hearde. O harts of yron.

I haue nowe bene long enoughe in  
prisons (my deare frinde Gerard,) & my  
speche (perhaps) may seme to haue taried  
ouerlong in this kinde of discourse. But  
where (I pray you) shoulde I be with  
better will, than with oure owne fryndes?  
why do I saye oure owne fryndes? Nay  
rather with the mooste deare fryndes of  
Christe oure God and Sauoure? for the  
lyfe of these fryndes is oure lyght: their  
constancie is oure example: their forti-  
tude is oure woorthipp and honoure: and



theire deathe is oure glorie. VVherfore, I cōfesse, that thoughe in bodye I am absent: yet in spirit I doe cōuerse continual-  
 lie with them, & they shall neuer flyppe  
 oute of my mynde. For I preferre their  
 bolts and shackles, I extoll their prisons,  
 I exalte their reproches and contumelies  
 farre aboue the riches, welthe, & diademe  
 of any Cresus, who so euer he be. Yet  
 notwithstanding I wolde leaue these ca-  
 ptiuies for a time, and goe forthe to visit  
 thē which are toiled & turmoiled abroo-  
 de, were it not that the fit occasiō of this  
 place admonisheth me (before I departe)  
 to make mention of a certein bare shyft,  
 or poore starting hole, whiche owre ad-  
 uersarie (vpon the oportunitie of impri-  
 sonment) taketh hold of, and fortifieth: I  
 meane that deceitfull pretence of a dis-  
 putatiō, whiche he wolde be thought to  
 profer to captiuies in prifon: but to suche  
 as are at libertie he will not yelde the-  
 rein, no not when he is requested, or be-  
 called and chalenged there vnto: Nay, nor  
 yelde therein to the selfe same captiuies  
 vpon any indifferent or reasonable con-  
 dition or lawe. And thus the case standeth.

A pretence  
 to dispute.

Aboute twentie yeres past, whan oure

aduersaries had expelled vs, before we were called to oure answere: and when thei were in full possession of oure roimthes and habitations: then loe, ( vpon a practise to geue a shoue to the people, that they holde by Iustice that which they haue vsurped by violēce ) they proffered a cōbate, by way of writing, in the whole matter of controuersie. And here vpon they becalled vs forthe to write, & they challēged so many of oure partie, as were either learned in dede, or so accompted, with this condition annexed to the challenge, that who so euer shall wyne the victorie in writing, shall be accōpted, sounder in truthe of teaching.

Oure Catholiques moſte willinglie take holde of the condition. Manie verie greate learned mē ( though troubled with the discommodities of exile ) dyd neuer thelesse write muche in the Engliſhe tōgue, for the defense of the Catholique faith: as those famous doctors & Learned clerckes, Saunders, Harding, Fekena, Alan, Stapletō, Heskin, Marshall Dormā, Raſtall, and others. They set forth the state of the whole controuersie verie plainly: they shew what reason, authoritie and

Protestants  
prouoke  
Catholicks  
to vwrite.  
And yet  
forbydd  
their booke-  
kes.



truthe we haue on oure syde: And they laye wydeopen the greate fraude, falsehood, lapse, fall and error, on oure aduersaries syde.

But when they on the other syde perceiued them selues to be ouer reached by their owne cunningg, & in a maner beaten downe in this open cōbate: then they deuised an other shyft, such a one in dede, as in desperate cases were necessarie, albeit no discrete nor skillfull meane for the safetie of their estimatiō and credite. For they procured the Quenes verie sharpp and threatnyng iniunction to be proclaimed against all those persones whiche shoulde haue, reade, receiue, bring or cōuey in to England anie such booke as those, whiche they thē selues before had vrged the Catholiques to write. Here vpon what greate vexations from hense forth oure Catholiques haue endured for these bookes. It is no easie matter to Iudge. For manie haue bene haled to the racke & painbank: manie haue bene stricken examined vpon their othes: some haue bene depelie fined: verie manye haue bene chased away, and for feare forced to flye in to exile: An infinite numbere of

Persecution for  
Catholike  
bookes.

houses haue bene by night searched, narrowlie perused, ryfled and ransacked in euerie corner: And all, but vpon a light suspition onlie of these bookes. And yf anie of these books happened to be found in a search: it was (be ye assured) a matter sufficient for a greuouse presentment. If a man should byd an aduersarie answer one of those books: it were a vehemēt presumption (for so the) of no good subject. If one shoulde speake but a woorde in defense of such a booke: oh, that were a plain euidence, yea and a flat verdict of a traiterouse hart.

Nowe, when oure men see them selues driuen in to these streicts and difficulties, that they coulde not (withoute verie greate inconueniences and molestations) eyther write or speake in the defense of the cause of God, and of his church vniuersall: what dvd they then think you? trulie (euen as it besemed good & Catholique Christians to doe) as occasions of matters required, they submitted their bodies to prisons, their hands to giues & manacles, their feete to bolts & shackles, their goods to rauine and spoile, yea and their liues to perills of deathe. In the



meane season (leste they might seme to distrust their owne cause, and by silēce to betray gods businesse) thei made a petitiō quietlie and calmelie, for to haue indifferent conferences with their aduersaries: and (with as much submission & earnest fute as might be) they humblie sued to euerie magistrate, that eyther publick disputation, or at the least priuate conferēce touching the nowe litigious points of religion might be admitted, vnder reasonable and indifferēt lawes & cōditions.

The earnest  
sute  
of Catholi-  
ques for  
libertie to  
dispute.

Manie at home, and mani abroad dyd solicit this sute by way of petitiō: some applied it earnestlie by fauour of fryndes: other pursued it by authoritie and credit as they might: and verie many preferred yt by other wayes & meanes. Oure men for their parts (thoughe by the way of greate disaduauntages, yet leanyng to the woorde of the prince, and for truthe sake) offred them selues willinglie and gladlie to enter in to this combate, with this onlie hope and confidence, that they trusted, many sowles, which were redeemed with the pretious bloode of our sauour Christe, & now are defiled with heresie, might with disceptation by gods

grace be recalled and recouered. VVhe-  
 rupon they gaue to the aduersaries the  
 whole libertie and choyle, eyther to vse  
 their owne homemates, or to call for  
 others: forthe of forraigne countries, for  
 the defense of their cause: yea and to ap-  
 point the day, to chose the place, to moue  
 the question, to prescribe the order and  
 forme, to beginne, to ende, and to doe all  
 things after their owne will & phantasie,  
 so allwayes, and vpon such condition, as  
 some lawe, rule, forme and order of a di-  
 sputation might be obserued and kept.

But (to make a short tale) the aduer-  
 sarie will none of these. For he did foresee

(and not vnwiselye) that his partie wolde  
 go to wracke, yf the matter were once  
 to be tried by combate, hãde to hande in  
 open fielde. And therfore he refused this  
 open cooping at barriers in Scholes, as to  
 lightsome a place for their dark dealings,  
 and to famouse a triall of their deceit and  
 guile, according to the sayeing of oure  
 Saluoure: *euerie one that doeth euill, hateth* Ioan. 3.  
*the light, and cometh not to the light, to the end*  
*that his vvorkes be not reprovèd: but he that*  
*vvorketh truthe, cometh to the light: that his*  
*vvorks may be manifest, for they are vvrought*

Protestants  
 distrust  
 their own;  
 ne cause.



110 OF THE PERSECVTION  
in god.

The castle of  
Windsor.

The shift  
& craft of  
ministers  
in their

Yet in fine, two practises oure aduersaries (lest they might seme to doe nothing) dyd put in executiō for their more securitie and estimation sake. First, they sturre vp sharper persecution against all Catholiques, but speciallie against the more learned, and against suche as were thought able in this confli& to annoy them with reasonyng. Therfore they remoued from london the Lorde bishop of lincolne, & the Lorde Abbot of westminster, with others of sounnd learning, profownd knowledge, verie much grauitie, & greate vertue, not a fewe. All these they cast into an vplandishe dongeon, spoile them cleane of all their bookes, barre them from all intercourse of talke and cōference one with an other, (except at meale time) and shutt them vp close & seuerallie in darke corners. And yf anie besydes of name and accompt were left oute, them allso they call vnto these Iron grates of prisons, that this waye, at the least, they may put all to silence.

Secondlie, when they had contriued all these things according to their owne desires: thē they conuey them selues with

greate secrecie in to prisons. There they  
sett vpon the captiue Catholiques sodain-  
lie ere they be aware, and call them in all  
haste to dispute of faith, withoute anie  
time before had to thinke on the matter,  
or libertie to talke thereof among them  
selues, And lest they might help or com-  
fort one an other, or testifie one for an  
other: they assaile them (for the moste  
parte) seuerallie, euery man alone by him  
selfe. And yf anie of oure partie dyd ob-  
iect their vneauen dealing, or desire time  
to consider, bookes for studie, or speche  
with his companions for instruction, and  
other things requisite for his defense: and  
yf anie alleiged further (as some dyd) that  
there wanted an indifferente Iudge to  
geue the sentence, convenient auditorie to  
beare witnesse, and faithfull notaries to  
sett downe the arguments in writinge:  
then loe, oure aduersaries exclamed that  
we refuse the combate, that we stand vpon  
bare shynfts of woords, that we seke for ex-  
cuses, and flye into holes and corners:  
Inso muche as manie on oure syde moued  
with the importunate clamoure of these  
felowes dyd yelde them selues to all ma-  
ner of conditions that were offred, put-

pretense  
to dispute



tinge their onlie confidence in the goodnesse of their cause.

But what so euer oure men alleiged, yt serued to small purpose there. For either dyd oure aduerſaries cōtumeliouſlie reiect it, or odiouſſie drawe and wrest it to treason, or else moſte vniuſtlye deprave, peruert, and misreporte yt to the people. And thereof I haue many examples: but here a fewe maye ſuffiſe.

Diuers  
examples  
of cauills  
& vntreue  
ſurmiſe  
of mini-  
ſters.

First yt fell oute of late, that after the ſentence of death was pronounced againſt Maſter hanſe (the good prielt) for the Catholique faith, and he nowe in priſon preparing hym ſelfe to die: there came vnto hym a certein miniſter vnder colour of frindſhipp, with a countenance ſetled and framed to an hipocriſie of holynesse, but the yſſewe of the matter proued hym to be full of bitter malice, and of euerye ſubtile ſhyft to deceiue the poore man. For in ſpeeche betwene them two, this miniſter, beſides many other reprochefull woords, dyd charge that martyr of Chriſte with treason againſt the Quenes perſone: where vpon when the ſame martyr had made this anſwere, that he had neuer offended againſt the Quenes maieltie

Maiestie, that he had but onelie made a profession of the Catholike faith and religion, whiche cannot betraie nor hurt the Maiestie of anie humane creature, for so much as aboute all other things it moste pleaseth the Maiestie of God. V When good maister hanse ( I say ) had spoken these and other like woords: and said further that he moste willinglie wolde embrace this death, sithe he was then cleare in his conscience, that he had neuer committed anie haynouse crime against her maiestie: but rather ( according to his dutie ) had commended her to God in his prayers: and that this crime of treason against her maiestie, imputed vnto hym, by his aduersaries, is in truthe neyther anie crime of treason at all, nor any synne in the sight of God: Loe this goodlie gospeller ( as one that had catched plenty of matter, wherevpon to forge a malicious surmise ) passeth forth of the prison, brutheth abroad to the people & publisheth in a libell writen and printed, that hanse affirmed no treason to be a sinne before God: Maister hanse hauinge intelligence hereof, complained of this iniurie openly to the people when he was brought



to the place of execution : and there he opened his meaning towching his former woords, and besought god to perdo the accuser, for so vniust, and so odious an vnruthe.

Tripp &  
Crowley  
against M.  
Thomas  
pounde.

Likewise two ministers for conference sake came into a prison, to a gentleman whiche had bene some tyme a courtier, and then was become a prisoner, & so had bene many yeres, for his faith. And when they had onerworne and waited all their matter with contumeliouse and lewed woords, and had wearied the gentleman with blasphemies (as he him selfe by letters complayned), and yet for their parts had not eyther concluded vpon any matter, or refuted any thinge by argument: then this gentleman (lest their talke should haue bene altogether ydle and vnprofitable) moued them at length to conclude vpon some certein principall points whervpon they might afterward procede to discusse the rest. And the poit was this: whether the priuate spirit of eche particular person, or the common spirit of the vniuersall church ought to iudge of the sense of holie scripture? For when he had heard them alleige scripture oute

The con-  
trouersie.

of all places, and wrongfullie: he affirmed that in these matters of controuersie, a man shoulde not runne to the bare letter of scripture, in suche sense as euerie particular man lyst to take, yt: ( for by this mean all heresies are defended: ) but that we ought to resorte to the moste certein Iudgement of the church vniuersall, at the least way moste auncient: which being directed by the spirit of God, doeth laye downe before vs the true & naturall sense of scriptures. And because the ministers dyd not admitt this grownd, nor yet refell yt: but (as theyr fashion is) runne into corners, creakes and starting holes: he put downe in writing (being but a lay mā, & not muche trauailed in scriptures) six strong reasons to fortifie his opinion: whereunto he desired that the ministers wolde answere, & there with all requested that it might be lawfull for him, by speche or penne to confute their answers, yf they shoulde seme to hym either impertinent and doubtfull, or otherwyse weake and insufficient.

A necessary principle for deciding of controuersies.

V Vell, when these ministers had got the writinge: thense they packe in haste, & to the superintēdet of londō they go: & to



# 116 OF THE PERSECVTION

hym they cōplain of the mans pertinacie,  
 how, notwithstanding their aduises and  
 motions, he refused to be a Caluiniā, yea  
 and that he durst take vpō hym to defend  
 his opinion by writing. This superintenden-  
 dent (as in verie dede he is a fūnish hasty  
 man, and by nature cholerick) being ou-  
 tragiouſlie incensed with ire, desineth the  
 gentleman by and by in his mynd to some  
 ſpeciall payne, purposing to punish hym  
 throughlye: And thereupon he thrusteth  
 him ſodeinlie oute of lōdō īto a ſtreicter  
 kynde of imprifonment: he locketh hym  
 vp in an olde decayed caſtell, a raw, vnha-  
 unted and obſcure place, where he could  
 neyther haue the ſight of the Sunne or  
 other light, nor yet of men: he loadeth  
 hym wyth yrons: and (not to recite all  
 particulars) he afflicteth hym with cala-  
 mities meruailouſe & withoute all mea-  
 ſure. Now theſe miniſters (being thus put  
 owte of all doubt & feare of their aduer-  
 ſarie) do ſett forth a booke, and make a  
 kinde of anſwer to the reaſons by hym  
 before layde downe vnto them: and as in  
 other things, ſo eſpeciallie in this, they  
 delt moſte iniuriouſlie with him: for they  
 cōnceale and diſſemble the verie ſtate and

Strateford  
 caſtell.

principall point of the question and controuersie, charging hym to haue sayde that the scriptures are (in his opiniō) of lesse authoritie than the churche: where in truthe he talked not of the authoritie of suche scriptures as are euidentlie knowne to be diuine scriptures: but his talke was eyther touching the knoweing and discerning of such vncertein scriptures as haue bene called in question and doubted of: or touching the vnderstanding of the sēse & true meaning of darke & obscure places of diuine scripture.

V Walker.  
In the mar  
shalsey.

Moreouer, a certaine diuine doctor, and one of some authoritie among oure aduersaries, came one day (with no small ostentation, nor light traine of folowers) to a certain prison for disputation sake, as he pretended: (for these felowes wold gladlie beare the people on hand & make them belieue that they do offer to oure men disputations thick and threfolde,) there, this gloriouse doctor calleth to gether in to the halle euery prisoner which whas shut vp in that prison for religion, bothe yong and olde, priests and lay folke: he telleth them that he is come to dispute: he and his associates take their



So he rai-  
led against  
M. Cotton  
a priest,  
for telling  
his surna-  
me & not  
his proper  
name.

seats on the benche, & sitt downe solem-  
nelie. And first of all, though the priso-  
ners were in nūber manye: yet he dema-  
undeth of eche man his name, & dwelling  
place. Yf any answer not readilie: the di-  
uine by and by wolde fall in a terrible  
chafe, and shake vp the prisoner outra-  
giousslie. Then before the disputatiō dyd  
begynne, one of the prisoners vpon oc-  
casion dyd alleige forth of holie scriptu-  
re some thinge whiche the doctor had  
denied: whervpon, the sely old man  
waxeth verie augrie, & in no case will ad-  
mitt that any suche thing is to be found  
in scripture: the booke is brought for-  
th, and the thing is recited verie clearlie  
worde for worde as it had bene alleged.  
The olde man taketh his spectacles and  
readeth: but for that the booke was an  
other mans booke, he wold not credit yt,  
but called for his owne: his cōpanions fall  
to laughing. And (to be shorth) withoute  
further proceeding they all arose & depar-  
ted: and thus the disputation was ended  
before it beganne. Then the sorye olde  
fellow (when he seeth that he could not  
preuaile) falleth a cursing, & wisheth mis-  
chef and destruction to the howse and to

all the prisoners there. And all this fell oute thus, the keper of that prison being present, and ashamed of the matter. Now, what can be layd more fonde or more ridiculous than this? And yet nevertheless yt was reported for certain and sure, that this mightie Hercules had ouerthrowen and beaten downe the Catholiques: albeit in verie dede he neuer vsed argumēt: but onelie a bare brabbling and contention in woords.

There is also among oure aduersaries one other odde minister, a bygge man in his owne opinion, yet in other mens iudgements he is but meane: how be yt in tongue not vnreadie, yet rashe and headlong, by reason that he knoweth not hym selfe. This fellow not long agoe (hoping to pick owt some peece of estimation by contending with greate personages) crept, vnlooked for, into a prison, where the aforesayde learned and reuerend fathers, the byshop of Lincoln and Abbot of west minister with others of good accompt are imprisoned for religion: And at his first entree he gyueth in commaundement that they all appeare personallie before hym: he telleth them

Fulk.

vvifbiche  
castell.



## 120 OF THE PERSECUTION

that he his come to conferre aboute the chiefe litigious points of religion: and signifieth his will and pleasure, that they should beginne the dispision. But when those good fathers (as they are wise) dyd perceiue the man to doe all this without warrant, and without anie certain order or forme of conference, but onlie vppon a rashe and vndiscrete head of his owne, and meerlie for vainglorie: they make smale accompt of him, but contemne such ridiculouse vanitie of the arrogāt yong felowe. And therefore when they had spoken something abowte the vnreasonable condition then offred, and of their want of bookes, tyme and other things: they leaue the man to his owne folies, & (as best besemed their grauitie) they lett hym passe away, as one by them contēned, rather than vexed. But yet the yong peacocke (as his maner is) aduanced vp his tayle triumphed abroode with all brauerye, and publietheth a pamphlet of his great conquests and victories ouer captiues: In which pamphlet there are many vntruthes, very many friuolouse toyes, and nothing to serue his turne, nothing to make for his side, but mere

vanitie, and that euen by his owne declaration, as he hym selfe telleth his owne tale.

But when suche huddling & thysing of matters was knowne, so as manye euen of oure aduersaries, dyd mislike yt (for it had allmolte bredde a cōmon quarell, & had wellnigh putt into the peoples heades some suspition that theire cause was ouer throwen:) Some there were which (to salue this sore and to take away the infamie) made a certaine promise that within thorte space there should be a disputatiō with cōditiōs very indifferent and verie reasonable. And thereupon, the knight Marshal writeth vnto the keper of the Marhallsey, and cōmaundeth hym to inquire and signifie, yf anie papists vnder his charge wolde mainteine their cause by disputatiō: that they shoulde send to him in writing such cōclusions as they wolde defend, and shoulde subscribe their names, make them selues redie to dispute: that he hym selfe wolde aduertise them verie shortly of the maner, place and time of the disputation.

This thyng pleased all men. Three of oure preists, thoughe yonger in yeres, &

In Nonem-  
ber. 1580

A new dis-  
putation.  
appointed

M. Bosgra-  
ue. M Shyr-  
vvin.  
M. HARR.

of lesse reading (for such as were of more abilitie & experience were all sent away from London as I told yow before): yet with a certein good assurance, trust and confidence in their cause, doe vnder take the charge: And therfore they close vp certain conclusions in writing, subscribe their names, and send them away to the knight Marshall with greate thanks. But the conclusions please not oure aduersaries: they appoint others accordinge to their owne phantasie & send them back. Theese oure men doe allowe: the day for the disputation is appointed: greate is the expectation thereof. But what folowed? Forsothe, in the day (as I think) next before they should dispute, the aforesayde defendants on oure syde were remoued from the prison of the Marshallsei, and conueyed to the tower of London to be racked: that sithe they wolde not be taught nor perswaded with reasons fett from authoritie, they might there be trayned vp and exercised with argumets deriued from the rack and torture.

But yet all this coulde not terrefye oure Catholiks frō their sute touching a disputation to be had with an indifferent



cōditiō. VVher vpō a noblemō, & one of the cheefe of her Maiesties moſte honorable Councell, moued (as I think) with the vrgent petitiōs of ſome Catholiques, agreed thus farre at length, that in this common ſute, he wolde in a priuate manner ſatisfye ſome principall perſones that were then in priſon for religion. For he called them vnto his chamber, and ſayd, that vpon the loue he bare vnto them, he was moued to agree vnto their requests, and deſired them to ſhew them ſelues indifferēt and diligent hearers, and not peruerſlie obſtinate in a deſperate caſe: And ſayd further, that he putteth no doubt, but by this one conference of verie well learned men, the truth of the matter might moſte eaſilie be diſcouered. The gentlemen ſhew them ſelues willing to be conformable to that request, and humble thanke his Lordſhypp for ſo greate a benefite. But they looke aboute yf they coulde ſee anie Catholique diuine to defend their cauſe by diſputation (for there were foure miniſters preſent to impugne it) yet they fynde none: they merueile muche: neuertheleſſe they ſpeake not a worde of yt: Because they

Thee Erle  
of Leceſtre

D. Laurence  
hūfrey  
vvith his fel-  
lowes.

wolde see the yssue and ende of the matter.

Adam  
Squier.

And at the last vp riseth a minister from the benche, and (with verie great commendatiōs of his associates before) downe he goeth as smothelie as may be among the prisoners, & offreth hym selfe to be oure spokesman, and to pleade oure cause. VVho coulde forbear laughing, yf the reuerence of the place wold haue admitted a skorne? who wold not haue pityed oure case, to see vs thus frustrate and disapointed of oure owne frendelye counsailers, and cōmitted to the defense of none but of oure foes? Yet forsoothe he geueth vs fayre woords, & will nedes beare vs on hand that he will support vs with his faithfull assistāce. And thereupō he steppeth furth, and vp he Ierketh his hands, & white of his eyes to heauē ward, (as his maner is) and (full deuoutlye lyke a good man) he there vndertaketh the defense of the cause: but of what cause I pray yow? forsoothe euen of that same cause, which before (like an apostata) he had betrayed and forsaken, and made his bragge thereof when he had so done. But who wolde belecue a skornfull and light

tryfeler? Ys there anie so madde (think yowe) as to cōmit so weightie a cause to hym that pleadeth in skorne? or to trust a leasting disputer with a matter of saluation vpon his bare worde: who (as it is reported) can not be trusted of his creditors in a money matter, no not vpon his othe when he sweareth molte depelie?

And these are all in a maner, that can be sayde of the disputations or cōferences with ministers in matters of learning. For I doe not remember, that our aduersaries euer yeelded to graunt any disputation to Catholiques, besides these which here I haue mentioned: sauyng onlie the late disputation which they graunted to maister Camplan, being the a prisoner, & twice before that tyme racked, destitute of bookes, and vnprouided of all things, sauing onlie of a good cause, & of a well willing mynde. But as for that disputation, we heare (euen by the testimony of the which were present) of muche parcialitie, & iniurie therein vsed, yea & of mani such odd shyfts, as perhaps to learned men might seme skant credible: but we are so admonished by examples in experience of former tymes, as we are

The disputation vvi-  
the father  
Campian.

And once  
again racked  
syns  
the tyme  
here mentioned.

Will  
to  
supplied  
to  
an



forced to mistrust any thing, beyt neuer so vnliklie, towching the indirect dealing of timourous and falseharted men in a naughtie cause. For who is ignorant, that nede maketh the naked man to runne, or that the swoorde of necessitie is of all other most dangerous? or who doeth nor verie well vnderstand that old pro- uerb, pouertie maketh many theues, and that error and want in a desperate case, leade many men into vnhonest wayes? but now let vs disgresse a litle while to other matters, for me thinks I haue spokē enough of prisoners. And though their condition seme harde and painfull: yet is the condition of those men eyther more painfull or more intricate, and more incumbred whiche liue abroade vnder some colour of libertie and are neuerthlesse vexed and shaken with stormes and tempests. For they whiche are shutt vp close withe in the limittes of prisons: though in other respects they seme to be full of calamitie, yet in this one point seme verie happie, that in mynde they haue some quyetnesse and tranquillitie. But the Catholiques which are abroad I mean those that are dwelling di-

The affli-  
ctiō of Ca-  
tholiques  
ovt of  
prisons.

sperfed through England, are neither suf-  
 fred to rest nor abyde any where: but are  
 tossed and tormoyled to and fro, as it  
 were with waues & wyndes in continuall  
 vexatiōs and troubles. For where so euer  
 yow wolde sett youre feete, what way so  
 euer you vvold goe by streete or pathe,  
 yovv may see lamentable sights: this man  
 to flye away: that man to lye hydden in  
 a corner: an other to conuey hym selfe  
 priuillie in disguised apparell: some ap-  
 prehēded and led to the iustice: others to  
 be sought for & not taken: many to abyde  
 amōg bushes and vvoods: agreate nom-  
 bre to haunt the feilds in the daye tyme,  
 and neuer to repaire home but at myd-  
 night.

And yet when they are at home in  
 their owne houses: they can not so be  
 in securitie one houre. For at midnight  
 oure aduersaries oftentimes rushe in for-  
 cibly vpo them, and sett a watche aboute  
 the house, that none may escape: then they  
 searche euery chamber, euen the bedchā-  
 bers of wiues and maidens: aboute they  
 goe throwgh all the house from place to  
 place, veweing, tossing, & rifeling in eue-  
 ry corner, chests, coffers, boxes, caskets

Searching  
 of houses  
 by night.



and clofetts. And yf anie thing happen to be fownd that maye worke some dete-  
ction of religiō, or may brede anie blame,  
or minifter matter of furmile: as filuer  
chalices, patens, candlesticks, crofles,  
books, vestments, & other ornamēts whi-  
che are called church stuffe: these they  
fnatche away, by a priuiledge of rob-  
berie, and by the prerogatiue of their  
gospell: for other lawe thei haue none to  
mainteine these their doings. And that  
these things may not goe alone, they cat-  
che holde oftentimes, for companie, of  
what so euer other thing lyeth bye. And  
lest anye thing els should be lost by ne-  
gligence, they sticke not to ryfle the bo-  
somes, purses, and coffers of honest ma-  
ttōnes, yea and to vncouer their verie in-  
nermost garments, & oftentimes to teare  
& rēt the a funder with violence, to see yf  
anye Agnus dei, crucifix, medalls, beads  
or anie halowed things doe lye hydd  
there. These pageants their sergeants doe  
play, their catchepoles I mean, whome  
they call purlyuants, those hungrye stor-  
uen bea<sup>st</sup>s runing moste fierlie on euery  
pray or bootye: And in the power of  
these felowes yt lyeth, whō so euer they  
do



do finde in the house eyther to commit to prison, or at theyr will and lyking to trouble with other vexatiōs, except they be annoynted with the oyle of the sinner, and pacified with some gratefull sacrifice of money. Psal. 140.

This is the peace and rest which oure Catholiques do finde at home in their owne houses. Lett vs see a litle what intertainment they doe fynde abroad. I haue tolde you howe these pursyuantys lyke theuysh night fyendes do runne withe deadelie hatred to doe displeasures in howses: we maye add herevnto how they besett the common wayes and crosse stretes with ambusshements lyke noone daye deuills. For yf any of oure men, whose name is presented, doe happen to passe through eyther citie, towne or vil-laige: hym they apprehend in the commō strete. Yf anie enter in to anie citie yea by night, and be betrayed or bevvraied by the detectiō of some espiall, taleteller or pickthanke (vvereof vve haue greater store:) hym they hale and dravv forth of the common tauerne, or ynne: but though he be neyther presented, nor bevvrayed, yet ys he not for all that in

Psal. 99.

safetie, except he vtterlie eschevve all companie and conuersation vvith men: For by many vvayes and means, euen vpon a light suspition onlie may a man be brought in perill: As for example, yf a man doe refuse to eate flesche on dayes prohibited by the churche: yf he be sene to pray some vvhat earnestlie, and speciallie in latin prayers: yf he blesse hym selfe vvith the signe of the crosse: yf he counsaile anie to fast, or moue one to virginie or single lyfe: yf he some vvhat earnestlie commend the auncient fathers: yf he say or affirm any thinge on the behalfe of the Catholique religion, or confute a verie manifest vntruthe of oure aduersaries: Nay, when others by course one after an other doe raile and speake reprochefully against the Catholique religion, yf he (for his part onlie) holde his peace and speake neuer a woorde: anye of these is matter sufficient to bring a man in question for religion. And to be short, there is extant an edict and lawe, not long agoe published, wherby euery man hath the power and authoritie to present, appeache, or accuse anie mā, who so euer he be, vpon euerie leaste circumstance,

In Nouem  
ber 1583.

whiche may induce anie suspitiō or surmise of the Catholique religiō. By meane whereof, manye synce that tyme haue bene apprehended, and verie manie haue bene afflicted with diuerse vexations & aduersities.

But there is one maner of roughe dealing (for I vwill not vse a more greuousse terme) vvhich afflicteth more thā all the rest: I meane that, vvhiche oure men doe finde and feele in sutes of lawe, in triall and Iudgements before iustices, in priuate businesses, and in the common conuersation and entercourses of lyuing to gether one vvith an other. For this is a matter vvhiche in dede toucheth the verie veines and sinevves of the naturall societie of mankinde, that are nourished and preserued by Iustice & humanitie or gentle behauioure: &, doe detest all cruell barbarousnes. But for my parte, I doe neyther complaine, nor thinke it mete to complain, yf neyther fauour be shevved vnto oure persones, nor pitie nor compassion to oure estate and condition, be yt neuer so afflicted or miserable, (for I can be content, sithe they will nedes haue yt doe, that such humanitie and ciuile cour-



The grea-  
te rigoure  
of some  
Iudges a-  
gainst Ca-  
tholiques.

tesie as nature graunteth euen among ene-  
mies be denied vnto vs their bethren, for  
the hatred whiche they beare to oure re-  
ligion: )yet in verie truthe, for so muche  
as there be some, whiche are not satiate  
with the rigour of lawes, and greuouf-  
nesse of paines and punishments layed  
vpon vs all readie, but they will nedes add  
a bitter vexation of malice and euell will  
of their owne deuise and makinge: inso  
much as eyther by pretense of lawe they  
vse rigoure against vs, where there is no  
lawe to warrant them: or elles they extēd  
the rigoure of the law, further than the  
mynde of the lawmaker dyd reache: and  
that in greatest, and moste weightie cau-  
ses, euen suche as concerne oure liues and  
oure bloode: no mā shoulde wounder, yf  
we mourne, yf we lament, yf we sighe and  
grone a litle vnder so great a bourden of  
calamitie.

Lett vs therfore see, what Catholiques  
doe endure allso in this maner of perse-  
cution, which ariseth vpo hatred and des-  
pite of the christiane religion. Fyrst, there  
is a certein law (which before I haue re-  
cited) that, who so euer shall obteine frō  
the byshopp of Rome bulls or publick

instruments, or bring the same into England: he must be reputed guiltie of hyghe treason. Nowe admit this to be a moste Iuste lawe: (for I doe not here entreate of the equitie and indifferencie of the lawe, but of the mynde and intent of the lawe:) VVhoe seeth not that the intent of this lawe was onlie to except, prouide & take order, that the pope shoulde not determine or appointanie suche thyng to be done, touching causes or affayres of England, as he was wont to doe by way of bulls (as they terme them) or writts Apostolique? And yet notwithstanding, not longe agoe, when a certein bare copie of the bull, conteinyng a denuntiation of a yere of Iubiley, then past, was fownde: albeyt the same pertained not to English men: although it was printed withe in an other princes dominions: although the force therof was determined more than a yere before: although it lay (as matter of no accompt) among onlie torne & cast papers: all this notwithstanding: the greuousenes of the matter was so vehementlie enlarged, & aggrauated by the seueritie of a Iudge: as a priest in whose chāber the copie was fownd, was, for that same

1575.

A notable  
point of  
iniustice.

Iudge Mā  
vvoode.  
M. Mayn  
priest.

cause, put to a moſte cruell deathe: and a gentleman of greate woorſhipp, though ignorant of the matter, yet beauſe he entertained the ſame prieſt in his howſe, was by the ſentence of the ſame Iudge turned owte of all his goods & poſſeſſiōs (which were very worſhipfull) and caſt in to perpetuall priſon.

At dorceſter the fifth of September. 1581.

page. 67.  
Nuber. 21.

A hard cōſtruction of a laye.

Again, before the ſame Iudge and promoter, ( for he executeth bothe thoſe offices againſt Catholiques ) a certain honeſt man was arraigned of highe treason, vpon the one and twentieth capitall lawe before mentioned, becauſe he had geuen a reaſon to one of his neyghboures, whie he hym ſelfe might not goe to the churches of proteſtants with a ſafe cōſcience. Nowe, this Iudge dyd interprete the māſ wordes in ſuche a ſenſe, as yf by the reaſō which he gaue, he ment to haue drawne his neyghboure to his owne opinion, and cōſequentlie to haue diſſuaded him from the Religion of England, and by an other cōſequence to bring him to the obediēce of the byſhopp of Rome. So long are the ſnares which are ſett to intrapp oure bloode. But ther is yet an other ſeuere practiſe of this Iudge, to geue more



showe of his cruell mynde in this matter. For when yt was referred to a Iurie (as the custome of the countrie requireth:) and that the inquest could not fynde the offēce to be so greuouse as deserued death: they were compelled by the authoritie of the same Iudge to fynd it to be a matter of treason: suche a practise as was neuer wont to be vsed, nor ought to be vsed against any man, were he neuer so farr past hope of grace, neuer so detestable naughtie.

And where there is a law in England that suche slouthfull beggars as will not abyde ī one certajne place, but idelie roaue abroad frō place to place like vagabunds should be whipped and burned in the ears with an hote yron: yt so fel owte that a yong man, born of honest and riche parents, skillfull in humane learning, hauing left his studie for a tyme, and going from Londō to visit his fryndes was apprehended, and brought before a Iudge for religion. VVhat affinitie is here with the persones noted to be punishable by this lawe? yet because the yonge man was the latelie come forth of ffraunce, & had bene trayned vp in the popes Seminarie: ther-

The law  
against va-  
gabunds.

Marck  
Gyppec.

Flete-  
wood.

Fulk.

Esa. 11.  
Psal. 30.  
Ier. 29.  
Esa. 27.

fore and hastie froward Iudge, in despite and malice that he beareth to the Christian religion & Catholique cause, wolde not dimittie the poore man before he was whipped throughe Londō, and odiously burned in the eare. The like punishment touching burning in the eare was executed verie latelye at the Citie of yorcke (as I haue hearde) & vpon a priest. And I could reckon vp a great number of like strict dealinges of Iudges against Catholiques; but this may suffice for a complaint. God which Iudgeth the poore in iustice, and requiteth the proude abundantlye. Oure Lorde vvhich is bothe Iudge and vvitnesse (as Ieremie saithe), & vwill Iudge in measure against measure, vwhen measure shall be caste a vvaye, pardone these Iudges for so wicked and so vniust iudgements.

But what might a man say to the wickednesse of this tyme? whether now (good God) whether now haue these exulcerate and rancorouse controuersies towching matters of faith and religion thruste vs? how haue they plucked vs downe? no nation in the worlde adourned with ciuil maners: no countrie indued with the holie lighte of Christs Gospell:

no people instructed with Christiā lawes & customes, was euer eyther better framed to courtesie and humanitie, more disposed to beneficence and fryndelie behauioure, more inclined to the loue of equitie, more bent to pitie and mercie, than this English people and nation was, before suche time as this vnluckye, detestable and pestiferous heresie had hardened the hart, and intrayles of loue, infecting them with deadelie poysons of malice. For this is she that hath shaken in sunder the bolts and bares of right and equitie: this is she that hath dissolved the bonds of loue and amitie: this is she that hath blown vpp the foundations of mercie and beneficence: this is she that hath cutt in sunder the veines & sinewes of the cōmon societie of men, and with a fyendelie force and tempestuous violence hath knocked together the membres thereof and beaten them one against an other into miserable disorder & confusion.

But now perhaps (frinde Gerard) the time wolde require me to make some ende of this epistle: for me thinks I am verie long: and I ought to haue care that I wearye yow not with a reporte so greuous



and lamentable, as in truth it can not but vehemently trouble yow (I think) whils youe are reding it, seing yt woorketh suche passions in my selfe in writing it, as some times I can not refraine frō weping, whiles I confidre, eyther what I haue written, or what I haue omitted. For there be farr moe things that ought to be suppressed and passed ouer in silence, rather than here to be cōmitted to writing: partly for that I shoud charge my selfe with an infinite labour in reciting all the particulars: partly, because the certain knowledge of very many things in these difficulties and troubles of tymes and causes, can not be had: but moeste especiallye, for that the explication & notice of the principall matters, and the discouerie of the persones whome they concern, do runne together in such sort, as they can not be so seperated that the matters may be well vnderstoode, nor so annexed as the persones may not be damnified. For the things cannot be committed to publick speche or writing, but that the persones may be drawne therby in to priuate perill. Lett vs therfore leaue these things to them which are to come after vs, that they

may eyther cōmit them to writing whan oportunitie shall serue: or elles in the meane time, with inward amasednesse, & secret sorow meruaile and be waile the case.

Now these things whiche I haue tolde may suffice to minister matter, eyther for sorow and heuines, or for a lesson and example. For oure calamitie ought to be a perpetuall lesson, not onlie to oure selues and oure posteritie but to all Catholiques allso through the woorlde: howe terrible a thing it is (as the Apostle sayeth), *to fall in to the hāds of the liueing god:* Heb. 10. And to refuse to doe the vvoorthie vvoorkes of pennance: yea, after mē haue bene therūto admonished. For oure owne synns and the synns of oure parents and auncetours haue layde vpon vs this moste heuye and painfull scourge of God, whiche will wax heuyer withowte doubt, and reache further, yf the Iustice of God, (by due repentance of Catholiques, and amendement of their sinfull lyues) be not preuented.

And as for sorow, particular or common, (frind Gerard,) who wolde not iudge that the things now by me recited may procure sorowe, and heuynesse

The strait  
examina-  
tion of Ca-  
tholiques.

enough, eyther to yow or me, or to anie Catholique who so euer: for as they be verie manye, moſte greuouſe, and haunt vs daylie: ſo in reſpect of the cauſe, they are moſte vniuſt: for their maner of dealing, they are moſte adiouſe, and for the Innocencie of the perſones wich ſuffer, they are moſte vnſemelie & full of indignities. Neuertheleſſe (as I haue ſayde before) I coulde not touche euery ſpeciall matter, nor yet the chefe and principall points: then muche leſſe is any man able to putt downe in writing the particularities of matters moued in that ſtrict maner of examination, practiſed by oure aduerſaries againſt vs, with interrogatories ſo drawn in length by peece meale, with ſuche ſearching and ſiftyng euen in to the ſmalleſt notes that may be diſcerned, ſo curiouſlie, ſo circumſpectly, with ſo many eyes caſte vpon a man, and with ſo many notes, and obſeruations as nothing can eſcape them. And yf a woorde, yea a peece of a woorde ſlipp forth of a mans mouthe at vnwares, or that he happen to geue but a wink with his eie, or a nod with his heade, whereby anie ſuſpition may ariſe, that he fauoureth oure cauſe: there



is then matter enough, wherupon eyther to accuse hym, or to calt hym in prison. As of late (by report ) some were put in prison for speaching a few words in commendation of Catholiques touching the late disputations.

But beholde a more straunge practise putt in executiō by oure aduersaries, not many dayes agoe. For all the students abyding withe in the vniuersities, were by thē enforced vpon their othes, to discouer and appeache euery persone, whome so euer they knewe or suspected to fauour the Catholique religion in hart: to this intent and purpose (with oute doubt,) that they might driue away all suspected Catholiques forthe of the vniuersities. Nowe I praye yowe looke well in to this deuise. This matter of suspecting, how farr dothe yt reache think yow? howe easilie is it couered vnder the cloke of dissimulation? how redily dothe yt attend vpon hatred and enuie? what licentious scope doeth it geue to ambition? how much force dothe it bring to yll will & malice? & how sharpe spurre is it to pricke forward euerie kind of reuenge? See then an experiment fallen oute euen of the present occasiō of

In August.  
1581.

In Oxford.

this depe deuise. A minister forsoothie did accuse one vpon suspitiō of the Romaine religion. The persone accused dyd aske the minister what he had for hym to induce that suspition: because (sayd the minister) I doe not see yow resorte so much to sermons, as yow wolde doe, yf yovv vvere feruent in the zeale of oure religion. How weightie and strong is this cōiecture, to enforce an accusation? Alas full greuous and troublesome is the state & cōditiō of them vvhich euen by lawes and publick authoritie are subiect to these stormes of malice, and to these tempests of the surmising forgerie of syco-phants.

A foolish  
surmise of  
a minister.

And because I am talking here of that prōptnesse, facilitie and rashe disposition to accuse, whereby oure aduersaries vsuallie do charge vs with offenses, and do surmise slaunderous tales, & mee-re cauills against vs, and that vpon moste friuolous and impertinent occasiōs: And albeit for hast I thought to haue omitted this point: yet one example I will leaue for this place: whereby youe maye perceiue, that we are not onele accused for small and tryfeling matters, but blamed

and punished oftentimes for the benefits  
whiche we bestowe vpon them. The hi-  
storie is notably well knowne, pleasant  
also, and yt will geue to youre Italians  
there (beside matter to maruaille at) some  
patern also of the estate and condition of  
oure affairs and troubles. And thus it is.

A courtlike gentlemā of good vvelth,  
that had liued in much brauerie, hapened  
to fall sick. And vvhiles he vvas lyeing in  
great pain: he dyd fall (as at that tyme ytt  
happeneth often to the most rechelesse)  
into a vehement cogitatio & depe studie  
of the lyfe to come. VWherevpō he called  
for a priest (for in mynde and opinion he  
vvas Catholique) that by his aduise and  
counsaile he might learne to dye vvell.  
The priest (according to his deutie, and  
the custome of the Catholique churche)  
admonished the sickman amonge other  
things that yf he had anie vvaye hurt or  
iniured any man, or vniustlie possessed  
other mens goods: he shoulde go aboute  
by and by to make restitution accordinge  
to his abilitie. The sick man dyd agree to  
doe so, and called to remembrance that  
he had taken awaie somewhat from a cer-  
tain Caluinian vnder colour and pretense

An histo-  
rie tou-  
ching resti-  
tution.



of law in dede, but not vnder anie goode assurance for a Catholique conscience to trust vnto: therefore he tooke order for restitution to be made, & died. The widow, his wyfe being verie desirous to accomplish her husbands will, and affraied to committ the matter to an heretique, was in verie greate perplexitie of mynde, and coulde not ridd her selfe out of it. Now whiles she was thus intangled in the bre-

M. Alvvai.

res of dowbtfullnesse: by good happ a priest cometh to her she declared her greefe vnto hym, and besecheth hym for gods sake to helpe her, eyther with his tra uaille or with his counsaile.

Now the good man, whā he perfecthe vnderstoode the deuoute and holie desire of the gentlewoman, being hymself a verie zelouse and charitable man, vwillin- glie profered to put hym selfe in all pe- rill that might befall in doeing the thing which she desired, perswading hym selfe that no man wold be so cruell and barba- rous as of a benefit to desire reuégemēt. Therefore first he commended the matter to God, then he mounted on horseback & awaye he goethe on his Iourney. And when he came to the towne vwhere the

man

The thyrd  
day in Ea-  
ster weeke.

ma dyd dwell to vvhome the monei vvas  
to be deliuered: he setteth vp his horse in  
the next Inne, that he might be readier at  
hand, for scaping immediatlie after his  
businesse vvere dispatched: he goeth hym  
selfe to the creditors house, he calleth the  
man forth alone, taketh hym by the hand,  
and leadeth hym a side from the compa-  
nie of others. Then he declareth that he  
hath money for hym, vvhiche he vvolde  
delyuer to hym vwith this condition, that  
he inquire no further, eyther vvhich sent  
yt, vvhich bringeth yt, or vvhich the cause  
or matter is, but onlie receiue the money,  
and vse yt as his ovyne. The olde felow  
promiseth faire, and with a good will ge-  
ueth his woorde faithfulli to doe so, and  
with many thanks he dimisseth the man,  
and sendeth hym away.

Fisher of  
vvarvick

Tvventie  
pounds en-  
glish.

The good priest with all the speede  
he was able to make hastneth to his ho-  
stes house, for to catch the holde of his hor-  
se & flie away: but all in yaine. For forth-  
with the deceitfull old felowe betrayed  
the priest, and sent men after to apprehend  
hym. And first to begynn with all, they  
made this surmise against hym, that for-  
sothe he is not a man but a deuill, whiche

Tvvo of  
the sayd fy-  
shers tre-  
chren.



He is take  
for a deuill  
vvhich ma  
kech resti-  
tution of  
ill gotten  
goods.

had brought money of his owne making to bewitch the olde man. And for a proo-  
fe there of, they vsed this argument among others, that he had a blacke horse. And this horse they dyd obserue & wat-  
che diligently whether he dyd eate haye as other horses eate or no. And as for the  
priest, they put a horse lock aboute his legg, shutt hym vp close in a strong chā-  
ber, and appointed a fellow to be with hym continually bothe day and night,  
which shoulde watche yf he dyd put offe his bootes at any time, & if his feete were  
like horse feete, or that he were clouē footed: or had fete flyt and forked as beasts  
haue. For this they affirmed to be a speciall marke whereby to know the deuill,  
vvhē he lyeth lurking vnder the shape and likenesse of a man. Then the people  
assembled aboute the house in greate nū-  
bres, and profered money largelie that they might see this monstre vvith their  
ovvn eyes. For by this time, the people are perswaded that he is in dede an yll spi-  
rite or a verie deuill. For vvhat man vvas euer heard of (say they) vvhicke (yf he  
had the mynde, vnderstanding and sense of a man) vvoolde of his ovvn volunta-



rie vwill and vvithoute anie respect or consideration at all geue or proffer suche a summe of money to a man vtterlie vnknovven, of no acquaintance vvith hym, and a mere straunger of an other countrie.

Novv vvhen they had thus contumeliouſlie vexed Christs ſeruant a vvhile : they pretended to ſett the man at libertie, and licenced hym to depart and goe avvay vvwhether he vvoulde: yet all vvvas but a deceitfull practiſe to vvork him more ſpite and iniurie. For loe, the vngratefull & churliſhe Caluiniā, vvhiचे had receiued the monei, ſent oute priuillie a ſuborned ſelow to ſtay the good prieſt as he vvvas goeing forth: to vvith holde him from eſcaping away : and to accuſe hym of high treason. This vvvas no ſooner done than the man vvvas all ryſled, and ſpoyled : his horſe ridden and vvſed as pleaſed them, his money all taken from hym, ſauing a litle portion to ſerue for his expenſes to the citie of London, vvwhether ſhortly after they ſent hym as a priſoner vvwith a ſtrong and curiouſe garde, And vvwhen he came thither, and had opened the matter to her maielties Councell (or rather to one of

The brother of the ſaid fiſher

That is,  
first into  
his owne  
porters  
lodge: the  
into the  
gate house  
at westmi  
nster.

thē, that the matter might not be vttered  
abroade to the reproche of the deade:) he  
was by them casten of, and put ouer to  
the Superintendent of London, and by  
hym throwne, first into one prison, then  
into an other, and thyrdlie in to the To-  
wer of Londō, vvhere the space wellnigh  
of a quarter of a yere (hardlie escaping  
the racke and tortures) he was sore puni-  
shed for that heinouse offence (for suthē)  
of restitution.

Poules ste  
ple bur-  
ned.

And here the recitall of this historie  
putteth me in remembrance of that ridi-  
culous and wanton maner of chatting of  
oure aduersaries (as oure moſte auncient  
enemies were wont to doe) in flaunde-  
ring Catholiques to be of familiar ac-  
quaintance vvith deuills. And I might  
sooner lacke time thā matter, yf I should  
reken vpp all the surmises, and fables w-  
hiche they haue forged, touching this  
point. But among many this is one. Pou-  
les steple in London was meruailouslie (a  
fewe yeres synce) blasted with lightning,  
and sett on a light burning fyre ragiouse  
hoate and skant extinguisshible: Oure ad-  
uersaries layde the fault and blame the-  
reo vpon vs, & were not a shamed to say

that it was done by Iuglings and coniu-  
rings practised by Catholiques. Again, it  
happened that certain charmes or inchaunc-  
ments, and deuises of witchecraft wound  
vp together in peeces of parchment  
with figures, characters & suche like fond  
toyes, and hydde in the grownde, were at  
length fownd by certain persones: The  
matter was supposed to haue bene con-  
triued for some mischefe or destruction  
to the Quenes Maiestie. But who was he  
among all oure aduersaries which did not  
charge Catholiques with that fact? yet  
loe, not long after, yt was fownd out and  
proued, that a certain minister was the  
Author and principall of this sorcerie, &  
had diuerse complices & accessaries whi-  
che were verie zealous gospellers: whe-  
reupon all was huyt sodainlie: yea (as  
busye as they were before) now they say  
not one woord of the matter, sauynge  
that some (to turne the fault frome one  
to an other, that the blame might fall som-  
way on Catholiks) sayde that this mi-  
nister had perhaps dissembled his religion  
and was a verie papist in his hart. A like  
furmise was deuised vpo an accident that  
happened in a citie and vniuersitie. VWhere

The mini-  
ster of Ne-  
wington.

Oxford.



a booke bynder for speaking some woords in the fauoure of the Catholique religiō was arraigned at the assises, before the Iudges, and roughlie handled by all the benche. For besyde muche griefe and vexation whiche he endured in prison: the matter fell owt thus at the last, partlie by the verdict of the Iurie, and partlie by the rigoure of the Iudges: that the poore man was fyrst made to stand openlie in the market place to his reproche and infamie, then were his eares nayled hard and fast to a poste and a knyfe was put into hys owne hand, there with all to cutt his owne eares in sunder & so to delyuer hym selfe. This was a feure sentence aboue measure as many men then dyd think. But what folowed? A wonder full Iudgement of God vndoubtedlie. For withein few dayes after, the two Iudges, and well nigh all the iurie, many of the iustices & freeholders, with verie many other of them whiche had bene present there, dyed all of a straunge kinde of disease, some in the sayd citie, and some in other places. But all the blame for this was layd vpon Catholiques: all this was imputed to magike and sorcerie, as practised by Catholiques.

What safety then or securitie (frind Gerard) is there for vs? In how hard termes stand we think yow, when not onlie other mens faults are layed vpon vs, but the manifest Iudgements of allmightie God are peruerslie interpreted to oure inconuenience and infamie?

I could neuer make ende yf I shoulde prosecute all the other means whiche our aduersaries woork to the dishonoure and slaunder of oure cause. For yf they may find one (be he neuer so base & so badde) which can tell anie reprochefull tale against Rome: or bringe anie tydings fownding to the rebuke thereof, or of any others which are thought to fauoure our faith and religion: albeyt that the stuffe which he bringeth, or the tale whiche he telleth be either nothig but verie rakings of the sinke & canells of filthie detractiō, or else voyde of all probabilitie or appearāce of truthe: yet such a fellow is for theyr toeth: hym they take holde of as affectuousslie as they can, and obtrude him to the people as a prophet: to hym they geue free leaue, and libertie to talke, to dispute, to preache, and to write what so euer he lusteth according to his owne

So vvas  
Ioh. Nicols  
a grammarian, and

minister  
coming  
from Ro-  
me & lyc-  
ing of Ro-  
me. Set vp  
in the pul-  
pet & ho-  
nored vvit  
an hono-  
rable pre-  
sence.

The 23. 24.  
25. daies of  
Ianuarie.  
1580.  
This fa-  
bliagbook  
was prin-  
ted by Io.  
charleyv-  
ood and  
Ed. vvhi-  
te vvith  
approba-  
tion vnder  
noted.

phantasie & pleasure, so he doe it by way  
of despite and contumelie against the Ca-  
tholique religiō. Now whence cometh so  
great rancour and hatred? wherof sprin-  
geth so much displeasure and malice?  
what may be the cause of all this spite and  
enuy? can ye tell? Yea but they rest not  
thus: they stay not with in this degree of  
immodestie: nor are content to be kept  
with in these limits of folye: they run  
headlong much further: for yf there be  
none to be fownde, which can tell skorn-  
full and scoffing tales, nor throw vp on  
heapes any filthynesse, nor obserue and  
note any milbehaviours against Rome:  
then doe these felowes forth of theyr  
own forge coyne and create new miracles  
and wondres of Rome, to doe them selues  
some pleasure or seruice in pulpets, ta-  
bles, & books. And to such an effect they  
haue latelie sett forth in a printed pāphlet  
mani meruailous things to haue happened  
the last yere at Rome, & that by the space  
of many dayes. VVherby they would  
make vs beleieue that God by greate and  
straunge signes and tokens doeth shew his  
wrath and indignation against that citie,  
for they tell vs of two Sunnes and two



rainbowes that appeared at one time: that  
saint Peters great gate dyd fall downe,  
and kill fourtene persones with eight sol-  
diours. That two towers allso of Saint  
Peters church were fallen, had beaten  
downe the church and crushed in pieces  
much people, amonge whom were eigh-  
tene preests: further more, that the chur-  
ches of the franciscanes, saint lames, &  
of saint Bartilmew, with oure ladyes  
church, the whole Monalterie of Marie  
Magdalen, the whole Armorie of the citie  
of Rome, the hospitall of an hundred and  
fiftie persones with an infinitie number  
of other houses and buyldings fell downe  
all at once: And all this happened (say  
they) to the intent that the world might  
vnderstand the Roman Religion to dis-  
please God. I passe ouer and omitt verie  
manie such artificiall shiftes and deuises  
which oure aduersaries doe leane to, of  
purpose to make oure cause more od-  
ious in the open sight of the people.

Now therefore (to come at the last to  
an end) yow know the state of oure case,  
in what termes vve stand, and to vwhat  
Issue oure matters in England are gro-  
vve. All is on a hote fire vvith the light

burning flames of pefecutions: Catholiques and right belieuers are euerie where afflicted with all maner of difcōmodities, with hatreds, with reproches, with bōds, with imprisonments, with iniuries, and with what else foeuer ferueth to an afflicted lyfe or helpeth to make vp a calamitie, full, absolute and perfite: And yet for all this oure aduersaries are not moued at all with any affectiō of pitie or cōpaffion: but their wraithe waxeth fierce, and their malice groweth fresh dailie more & more: In fo muche as now they seme to be come to that point whereof oure Sauoure foretolde: *that euerie one that killeth yovv, thinke he doeth a fervice to God.*

Ioh. 16.

Io. 16.

But the Catholiques doe comfort them felues with the woords of oure Sauoure foloweing in the fame place: *These things they vvill doe to yovv, because they haue not knowne my father nor me: but these things I haue spoken vnto yovv, that vvhen the houre shall come, ye may remembre them, for I haue spoken to yovv. That sayeing allfo of Saint paule they doe often recite for their cōfort. God is faithfull, vvhicke vvill not suffer you to be tempted aboue that you maye, but even vvith temptation he vvill make an encrea-*

2. Cor. 10

se, that ye may endure.

This encrease of the faithfull, thus promised before hand as a recompense for patient sufferance of persecution, the Catholiques in England doe sensiblie feele to be passinge good: And thereupon yf falleth owte, that beside the inward sweetnesse of the holie ghoste, they are also not a litle animated and confirmed with this externall comfort and consolation, whiles they vnderstand and see with their eyes the number of right belieuyng Catholiques to be so maruailously encreased, syns the rigour of the persecutors haith bene doubled and redoubled vpon them. For this is a manifest signification of gods loue, whereby he doeth assure and certifie vs that he will neuer forsake this oure cause, or rather I might say his own cause, yf we for oure parts doe fullfill and kepe the rules and precepts of humilitie, mekenesse, longanimitie and patience. And withoute doubt yf in mynd and memorie we wolde runne ouer & vewe the troubles whiche Catholiques haue suffered allredye: or measure & esteeme by coniecture the vexations which may hang ouer their heads to be yet suffred: we shall

The increase  
of Catholiques  
in England.



finde, how yt can neyther be imputed to the power or habilitie of man, that hither to they haue susteined the same: nor may be looked for that hereafter by mans power they may perseuere stedfastlie to the ende. This must be begged and craued of God alone, and must by cōtinuall prayers be obtained of the father of lights, *from vvhome euerie best guyft and euerie perfect guyft procedeth.*

Iac. i.

Now, what puissance and valew of mynd think yow might suffice? what noblenesse of courage wer nedefull? what strong and steadfast constancie do yow iudge requisite to make mē hable to beare and endure those vexations whiche before I haue reported? those contumelies (I mean) and those despites? those rebukes and dishonors? those prisons, bolts and shakles? those deformities and disorders? those loothsome and ill fauored sights? those stinking saouours? those putrifications for want of good lodging? those consumptions, waistings and pinnyngs away for lacke of naturall sustenance? those torments? those deathes? And neuerthelesse that same whiche before I haue sayde, I must here eftsones repeate

and yow must kepe yt in memorie, for it is true, that I haue skant touched the hundreth part of those afflictions whiche oure Catholiques daiie sustein in prision. But yet yf Catholiques might fynde such fauour, as they might be entreated and vsed in suche maner as theeues, man murderers, parricides, and hainouse offenders are vsed, or might be releued with their owne goods, or refreshed with the benignitie and almes that other men wold bestow of them: we shoulde haue no cause to grudge, and we might well think that we were not hardlie delte withall. For I know there will be fownd in England many, as well of honest calling, as of the degrees of wooshipp and honor, whiche willinglie wolde be content to sell away all their goods, lands and possessiōs, and to yelde them selues to become seruants to the afflicted Catholiques, rather than the same Catholiques should suffer so vnseemlie and dishonorable mischiefes and inconueniencies of hungre, famine, pouertie and want of necessaries as they doe daiie suffer and endure: but it will not be allowed nor permitted.

Yet I wold not yow should take me



other wise than I meā. I speake not of those principall persones of honor or worshipping, whiche are in prison for religion: who ( I deny not ) haue libertie to vse their ovvn goods. But I speake of the great multitude of most miserable poore captiues, and speciallie of priests, vvho at this daye are kept so ltraitlie, as no man hathe accesse vnto them: and vvho so euer desireth accesse, he is called in suspition: and except he can purge hym selfe , he is apprehended by and by. So Maister hanse of late, vvhen he desired to speak vvith some prisoners ( bicause he had almes to delyuer to them ) vvvas attached as suspected for religion, and in short space after hanged on the galovves. In like sort many other, for the same cause , haue bene arreasted vpon suspitiō, and clapt in prison. And by these means oure aduersaries do terrefie Catholiques, that none should dare to bring any almes for prisoners.

And it is no lesse perill to the geuers than to the bringars, yf the matter be once knowne: But it hapneth to be knowne manie wayes: and oure aduersaries, to get the knowlege thereof, doe oftentimes putt priests to the racke, or other tortu-



res, and examin the who they are whiche haue geuen them almes? and who hathe bestowed vpon the other woorks of pietie? And yf anie by force of torment should confesse anie such thing (whiche to this day, by gods help, none hathe done:) then wolde oure aduersarie thereupō two maner of wayes anoye vs. Firſt, he wold vtterlie discredit the mā, as a traitor to his own frinds: then wold he so afflict the geuer of almes, as for drede of punishment he wold driue away others from exercise of like works of pietie.

M. Iohnſo  
M. Briant  
an others  
racked for  
the ſame  
cauſe, all  
moſte to  
death.

Now, ſithe oure aduerſaries by this cunning deuiſe haue brought this to paſſe, that none dare geue almes, nor anye dare carie to a priſon the almes whiche is geuen: yt muſt medes hereupō folow (as plainlie with oure eyes we ſee haith followed) that oure Catholiques in priſon through penurie, nedynelle, and want of neceſſaries muſt languith & weare away, and at the laſt for verie pinyng hungar & nakedneſſe pitifullie periſhe in priſon I ſuppoſe yow haue heard of a certein nūber of perſones latelie extinct and dead in priſon at york: I will not take vpon me to auouch or ſuſpect more hardlie the-

Exile of his  
kingdom.

proof, than as I haue sayd: albeit there be  
some whiche do suspect somewhat be-  
cause that president there beareth suche  
mortall and inconsiderate hatred against  
vs, as he seemeth to couer nothing in the  
world so much as oure vtter ruine & de-  
struction. God be gratiouse to hym, geue  
hym a better mynde, and send hym a mi-  
lleder spirit toward miserable captiues,  
that he hym selfe allso, once at the length  
when the tyme will come, may for hym  
selfe obtain mercie at the hands of the ge-  
nerall and common Lorde and Iudge of  
vs all.

M. Bell.

Yf I wolde recite the bitter affliction  
and inhumanitie which Catholiques in  
that prison at york the yeres by past haue  
felt and suffred, or at this tyme do fele and  
suffer more than euer before: I should ne-  
uer make ende. But by this one we may  
coniecture of the rest. A certein minister  
competenlie learned, whiche had stode a  
great while on our aduersaries side, and  
had verie earnestlie to the vttermoste of  
his power defended the same: came at the  
length to such intelligence by reading of  
the holie fathers, as he dyd see verie clear-  
lie that his companions had no truthe to  
lean



lean vnto, but that all was on oure side,  
and that, without all doubt. The zealous  
yong man could not stop the collected  
light of truth, nor suppress the flame  
thereof burning within his brest. When  
this was knowne abroad to the worlde  
oure adueraries apprehend the man, they  
seke by threatninges to putt him in feare:  
But he for all that is not terryfied: they  
sett vpon hym vwith arguments, but he  
was to hard for the: they vould vwyne  
hym vwith faler vwoords, but he is not  
allured. VWhat then? they thrust hym in  
to prison, they handle hym harshly: yet  
is he nothing relented. At the last they  
hang hym vpon a crose in such maner, as his  
feet being put in a payre of high stocks,  
he lay vwith his shoulders onlie vpon the  
floore, and that vwithout either bedding  
or any thing to leane vpon other than the  
bare floore, the space of very many daies  
together, sayng that they shewed hym  
theire fauour onlie, as at certein times they  
eased him some vwhat, for his bodilie nee-  
des. VWhat can be more cruell than this?

I omit here the rigours which are vsed  
against women there imprisoned for re-  
ligion, to whom ouer and besydes the



vexations that are incident to prisons: this further greefe is added, that albeie their husbands do yelde, and are conformable (as they terme it) to oure aduersaries: yet are they all punished, except they will eyther compell their wiues to doe as they them selues doe, or elles will take away from them their necessarie foode & sustinance. VVhat then shall these miserable afflicted vvomen do, when they cannot be permitted to haue the necessarie releefe of lyfe, no not at their husbands hands? must they not perish through the inconueniēces of penurie and needynesse? and yet oure gospellers are not moued with any compassion or pitie for all these.

And as to other prisons vvhiche are in London. I coulde reporte to yovv many lamentable cases asvvell of suche as late vvere extinct therein, as of them vvhiche yet liue there in miserie, but that I feare lest my complaine vvold be an occasion of more grevouſe affliction yet this is moſte certein, that many haue endured verie greate extremities through penury, and yet dailie looke for more greuous vexation, yf that moſte ſeuere

law touching going to churches be put in execution. For it will so utterly begger exhauste and oppresse Catholiques: as they shall not be able to releue either the felues or their families, and muche lesse to succoure others that are afflicted. And therevpon the state and conditions of Catholiques in England seemeth likely to fall in to extreme calamities, and inconveniences, neuer heard of before with christian ears, in such wise, as Innocents shall be spoyled of their own goods, yea and pine away perish and be consumed with famine: and all, for their conscience onlie, touching the faith and religion of their auncetors.

Before  
mentioned.

But when I beholde & earnestlie looke into that passing excellent, singular and in dede princelie noblenesse of hart, with the exceeding great clemency and milde disposition whiche nature hath planted in oure Quene: I am hardlie induced to beleue that her maiestie will permit such a straite and extreme law to be putt in execution, to the vtter ruine of men afflicted with miserie, to the ouerthrow of her owne subiects, to the disturbance of her kingdome, and to drine all the whole



worlde besides, in to a male with the wonder thereof. Yet neuertheless on the other syde, when I deeply consider how her grace is incensed against vs with the continuall clamours of oure aduersaries, and by how subtile means and cunning shifts, dailie incited and stirred vp to oure persecution and destruction; whiles there is not one in the waye eyther to excuse or defend vs, or yet in oure behalfe, by waye of humble sute, to procure some compassion for oure afflictions: then I see yt to be possible, that not onely these extremities, but greater allos, and farre harder extremities may be permitted against vs.

The conclusion.

Nowe therefore (to conclude all in one woord) two things onely remain for vs to doe in these strait distresses wherein we stand. One, that with fervent vowes, and deuoute prayers we humbly call and erie vpon oure Lorde and Saviour Christ, to mollifye the harts of oure persecutors. The other, that we remaine in a steadfast sure and resolute minde to suffer, & beare for his sake, what so euer happeneth to vs, referring all the rest to his moste holie prouidence; vvith this moste certein perswasio, trust & beleefe, that yf we stand



fast in this mynde: and laye oure selues  
whollie vnder his custodie and protectiō,  
he will direct vs the safest waye into  
the haven of oure saluation.

And yf we persist firmly in this mynde  
and purpose, yf we putt on this armour  
of hope, faith, and seruent charitie, with  
the contempt of all mortall and wordlie  
things: yf we be (I saye) once fast planted  
and depely rooted in this moſte firm and  
vnmouable rock, which is oure Christe  
crucified. We shall be able with greete  
ease, and without trouble to endure, and  
abide what rigoure or crueltie so ouer  
oure aduersaries shall practise against vs.  
For we shall peaceably enioye the passing  
greate securitie and quietnesse of that man,  
whome oure Saviour in the gospell com-  
mendeth as a right wyseman: which buyl-  
d his house vpon the rocke, and the raine  
dyd fall, and the floodes came, and the winds  
dyd blow, and rused against that house, and  
it fell not, for it was buylde vpon a rocke.  
yea we shall sensibly feele in oure hartes  
and professe by mouth, as Saint Paule did,  
that moſte billy and moſte valiant capitaine  
of oure religion and champion of Christ  
oure Saviour: Who shall separate vs from

Matth. 7.

Rom 8.

the loue of Christe? shall tribulation? shall ad-  
 uersitie? shall nakednesse? shall perill? shall per-  
 secution? shall the sword? As who should  
 say none of these: for by and by he ex-  
 poundeth hym selfe: Neither death, nor  
 lyfe, nor angells, nor principalitie, nor pow-  
 ers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor stren-  
 gthe, nor highenesse, nor depenesse, nor other  
 creature can separat vs from the loue of God,  
 whiche is in Christ Iesus, oure lord.

O passing noble sayeing, and woor-  
 thy to procede fro so greate an Apostle  
 as Saint Paule was. VVhat can be spoken  
 or imagined more couragious? VVhat  
 can be thought in mans mynde with mo-  
 re assured trust and confidēce? This ther-  
 fore must be depelie considered of vs who  
 are persecuted for the same cause for  
 whiche he was persecuted: this must we  
 imitate, whiche wrestle in the same bar-  
 riers where he wrestled, and contend for  
 the same game for which he contended:  
 which hope for the same garland whiche  
 he hoped for, and expect the same recom-  
 penser whiche he expected. Hither must  
 all oure cogitations and studies tende: hi-  
 ther must oure forces and powers be ap-  
 plied all together: that in all troubles




and aduersities, we retein fast this sure hope and confidence, whereof, in dede, so exceding greate fortitude will spring: & in all distresses (be they neuer so greuouse, hard & doubtfull) suche passing good comfort will arise and grow: as may suffice to bring vs through, by fyre and water *Psalm 65.*  
*in to the refrigerie* (as the prophet saith) & that is, by the painfull troubles and calamities of this worlde, in to the euerlasting rest, glorie, and felicitie of God and all Saints. Amen.



AN ADMONITION SENT BY

GERARD TO THE READER

touching the former  
epistle.

 When I imparted with some of my familiars this epistle, vvhich vvas sent vnto me from a fryend ouer the Alpes: vpo their earnest request, and certain kinde of as-  
sumptuous importunitee, I vvas comēd to let it passe further into the hands of some noble and principall persones, by vvhose perswasion, or rather commaundement it vvas put in printe. For I thought it to be muche available to the common estate of Christendome, that this so notable a persecution of Catholiques in England should be not onlie communicated to the knowleige of this present age, but put ouer allso to the mynde and memorie of oure posteritie. For it hathe matter enough to sturre vp them novv liuing to compassion and pitie, and to instruct them that are to come, of vvhath thigs they ought to take hede & bevvare. But of one thing I vveolde aduertise the reader ( as my freēde in other letters hath aduertised me ) that among many matters not mētioned in the other parts of his Epistle this one in the rehearfall of layves he hathe vvillinglie omitted : that is, how by many statuts, and proclamations such order is taken in England, as no Catholique, either by exile, or by forsaking of his countrie,

can escape, or withdraw hym selfe from the  
se paines or persecutions whiche followe hym  
for religio. For it is provided (to this effect) that  
no Catholique may ges forth of the realme  
thout leave and licence first obtained. And that  
yf anie do go forth withoute licence, he shall  
forfeit all his possessions during his life, and  
further, that none before his departure forth  
of the realme may give away his possessions, ne  
not to his wyfe, childer, nor fryends. For so he  
doe: it shall be taken as done of anie other  
fraude, the name of her forfeytured. And as  
for such forfeitures, they shall be recovered  
by information of couen. But this statute of  
fugitiues (for so it is called) is so strictlye and  
seuerelie obserued against Catholiques, as none  
vvithin the realme, dare by anie vvay or mean  
help, succoure, or releue eyther father, mo-  
ther, husband, bretheren, or children, vvich are  
Catholiques, and vvithoute licēce abyding ou-  
te of England. And as for this licence to be ab-  
sent oute of the realme, as it is hardlie obtained  
for others: so is it neuer or seldome, and vvith  
verie muche difficultie graunted to Catholi-  
ques. Yea further, (vvhiche is more seuer) all  
those parents (vvhose childer are abyding in  
these parts, or else vvhere oute of England, for  
studie sake, are compelled to enter in bond,  
vvith good assurance, eyther to dravve their  
childer home again by and by vvithoute ta-  
king, or to deprive them vtterlie of all exhibi-  
tion and releefe. All vvhiche things do tende to  
this ende, that no part nor portion of anie re-



leeft or comfort, be it neuer fo litle, might fre-  
lye come to the English Catholiques, either at  
home or abroad. And thefe be the matters vv-  
herof I thought good to admonifh yovv, be-  
caufe they are not fpoke of in the epiftle. The-  
re remaineth novv no more but that all true  
Chriftians vvold thorovvlie vevve and cōfider  
the great diffreffes of their bretheren & of their  
ovvne intraites, and vvith moſte feruent pra-  
yers, for the common bond ſake of Charitie,  
vvhicke paſſeth thorovvgh the vvhole corps  
of Chriſtendome, to commend their caſe to the  
common lorde over all.



THE COPIE OF A LETTER SENT  
frome a priest, being prisoner in the Tower  
of London, to the Fathers of the Societie  
of Iesus in England.

To the deuoute reader.

**E**thoughe it be true, that Ca-  
tholiques imprisoned in the  
tower of london, are kept so  
straitlye, and vncourteouslie  
in warde: as neyther friends  
maye haue acesse vnto them, nor they  
permitted eyther to haue company or  
to speake with other men, and muche  
lesse to haue books, paper, or penne and  
ynke: Yet during the late disputatio there  
with father Campian the prisoner, some  
of them whiche were entred in to heare  
the disputations, finding oportunitie,  
stepped a syde vnto the holes of some  
seclused priests, to visit and salute those  
seruants of Christe: by whiche means, as  
by gods holie prouidence, some thinges  
were vnder stoode and knowne, touching  
their state and passing greate comfort,  
where whith God of his goodnesse doeth  
refreshe and recreate them, in the myddes

of their extreme troubles and distresses,  
And among other things, this epistle fol-  
loweing, written in haste, (even foorth  
of the mouth dowllesse, as it semeth, of  
the holy ghooſte) by a good preiſt, which  
had bene miserable tormented, and ſun-  
drie times racked, came to my hands fro-  
me the reuerend fathers of the Societie of  
Ieſus, to whome it was ſent. And here I  
thought good to place yt woord by  
woord taken oute of the Authors owne  
handwriting, that all mortall men may  
vnderſtand gods hand not to be abbr-  
ged, but that aſwell now, as in old time,  
he aydeth his confellores in their neceſſi-  
ties, and aſſiſteth them within thoſe dark  
and cloſe priſons.

Eſa. 56.



TO THE REVEREND FATHERS  
of the Societie of Iesus.

**A**S often as euer I consider vvith my  
selfe (reuerend fathers) howvfer-  
uentlie, and by howv many vvayes  
and means allmighty God seekeeth  
our saluation, desireth oure loue,  
vvilheth to possesse oure hart, and to raigne  
vvith in vs: eue so many tymes, am I ashamed &  
abashed, that neyther benefits do moue vs, nor  
revvards allure vs, nor terror of Gods Iudge-  
ment dothe prouoque vs miserable men, to ser-  
ue and obey hym vvith all force and indeuour,  
yea and most freelie to present our bodies as a  
liuing sacrifice, and perfect offering to his diui-  
ne maiestie. For beside those his passing greate  
benefits of creation, redemption, preseruati-  
on, iustification, and expected glorification: beside  
these (I say) and infinite other his benefits, be-  
stowed vpon vs: he exhorteth vs vvith moste  
svete vvords, to haste apace tovvards hym. I  
loue them (sayth he) vvhicke loue me; & he vv-  
hicke earlie in the morning vvaketh to me,  
shall fynde me; blessed is the man vvhicke hea-  
reth me, vvatcheth at my gates dailie, and atte-  
deth at the postes of my doore: he vvhicke fynd-  
eth me, shall fynde lyfe, and obtaine saluation  
at the hands of his lorde.

Novv, vvhere he is to be sought, he hym  
selfe teacheth vs by these vvords: vvhere so  
euer tivo or three are gathered together in my  
name (saith he) there am I in the myddes of the.



VV<sup>e</sup> must then think Christe to be trulie in that place, vvhere many being fast ioyned in loue and charitie, do assemble together to this ende that they may honor God, serue god onlie, kepe his commaundements, and enlarge his moste gloriouse kyngdome. VVho so euer heareth hym, shall learne truthe and shall not vvalk, in darknesse and in blyndnes of errors, but shall goe safe and sure to the fountains of vvaters.

In such sacred congregations, dedicated to god, lyeth the right vvay to heauen: avvay not planted aboute vvith breers and brembles, not haunted of leyyed liuers, but cōtinuallie trodden vvith the feete of deuout people, A vvaye not abounding in vain delites, nor in faire flattering enticemēts: Avvaye not adourned vvith the fading flouvers of this vvicked vvorld, but fenced and fortified vvith moste holie lawes and rules, that the simple and ignorant can not erre therein, nor anie other go astray oute of that vvay: excepte suche as vitterlie neglect their ovyne saluatio. Here things are aptlie disposed in number, vvweight, and measure, in so much as it may vvell be sayd, that true vvifdome in dede dyvelleth here, by vvwhose meassall things are sett in good order meruailouslie. Here is vsed and exercised a certein heauenlie reformation of brethren, a syvere correction and amēdment of, syouvard affectiōs vvith a vvonderfull procurement and inuitation to mutuall loue and charitie.

For these or such like respects, I had determined vvith my selfe now vvvo yeres agoe to entre in to this kinde of lyfe, yf god so vvould:&

I had some speche with a learned and deuoute man, then my Ghostlie father to this effect: vvhether there vvere any hope, that the fathers of the Societie vould receiue me vnder their holie rule and obedience, yf I shovlde vpon reasonable cause returne forth of my naturall cuntry againe; for then I vvas in the parts beyond the seas: his opinion vvas cleare that I had no nede at all to doubt thereof. Hereupon my hope encreased, my courage vvas augmented, and in these two yeres, vvhiles I haue bene in England, I haue oftentimes renewed this purpose. But vpon hope and trust that my tra-uaile and industrie here, in the haruest of oure Lorde, is not altogether vnprofitable, I haue differred the execution of my sayd purpose. Yet now, seeth I am by the appointement of god depriued of libertie, so as I can not any longer employe my selfe in this profitable exercise: my desire is estones reuiued, my spirit vexeth feruent hote, and at the last I haue made a vovv and promise to god, not rashlie (as I hope) but in the feare of god, not to anie other ende, than that I might thereby more deuoutlie, and more acceptablie serue god, to my more certain saluation, & to a more glorious triumphe ouer my ghostlie enemye. I haue made a vovve (I say) that vven so euer it shall please god to deliuer me (so that once at the length ye like hym) I vwill vwith in one yere then next folowing, assigne my selfe vwholie to the fathers of the Societie, and that (Yf god inspire their harts to admit me:) I vwill gladlie, and vwith exceeding great ioye thorovvlie, and



thorowlye, from the bottom of my hart geue  
vp and surrender all my vvil to the seruice  
of god, and in all obedience vnder them.

This vowe vvas to me a passing great ioye,  
and consolation, in the myddes of all my di-  
stresses, and tribulations. And therefore, vwith  
greater hope to obtaine fortitude and patience, I  
drew neare to the throne of his diuine maie-  
stie, vwith the assistance of the blessed and per-  
petuall virgin Marie, and of all Saints. And I  
hope verilie this came of God, for I dyd it euen  
in the tyme of prayer, vwhen my thought, my  
mynde vvas fetted vpon heauenlie things. For  
thus it vvas.

The same day that I vvas first tormentted  
on the rack, before I came to the place, geuing  
my mynd to prayer, and commending my selfe  
and all myne to our Eorde, I vvas replenish-  
hed, and filled vp vwith a kinde of supernatu-  
rall sweetenelle of spirit. And euen vwhile I  
vvas calling vpon the moste holie name of Je-  
sus, and vpon the blessed virgin Marie (for I  
vvas in sayeing the Rosarie): my mynd vvas  
cheerefully disposed, vwell comforted, and rea-  
dilie prepared, and bent to suffer, and endure  
those tormentts, vwhich euen then I moste certe-  
inlie looked for. At the length my former pur-  
pose came in to my mynde, and there vwith all a  
thought coincidentlie fell vpon me to ratifie  
that now by vowe, vwhich before I had deter-  
mined. VVhen I had ended my prayers, I reuol-  
ued these things in my mynde depelie: and  
vwith reason as vwell as I could, I dyd debate  
and discusse them thorowlye. I iudged it god,  
and



and expedient for me: I accomplished my desire: I put forth my vow and promise freely, and boldly, with the condition afore sayde.

Which acte, (me thinketh) god hym self did approue and allow by and by. For in all my afflictions and tourments, he of his infinite goodness, mercifully and tenderly, did stand by and assiste me, comforting me in my trouble and necessitie. Deliuering my soule from wicked lipps, from the deceitfull tongue, and from the roaring lyons, then readie gaping for their pray.

Whether this that I will say, be miraculous or no: God he knoweth: but true it is, & thereof my conscience is a witness before God. And this I say: that in the end of the torture though my hands & feete were violently stretched & racked, and my aduersaries fullfilled their wicked lust, in practisinge their cruell tyranny vpon my body, yet notwithstanding I was with out sense and feling well nigh of all greefe, & payne: and not so onlie, but as it were comforted, eased and refreshed by the greues of the torture by past, I continued still with perfect & present senses, in quietnesses of hart, & tranquillitie of mynd. Which thing when the commissioners dyd see, they departed, and in goinge forth of the doore, they gaue order to rack me againe the next day, follovinge, after the same sorte. Now when I hearde them say so: It gaue me in my mynd by and by, and I dyd verelie beleue & trust, that with the help of god, I should be able to beare & suffer it patientlie. In the mean tyme (as well as I could) I dyd muse and meditate vpon the moste bitter passion,

of oure Sauoure, and how full of innumera-  
ble paines it vvas. And vvhiles I vvas thus occu-  
pied: me thought, that my left hād vvas vvoun-  
ded in the palme, and that I felt the blood run-  
ne out: but in very dede, there vvas no such  
thing, nor any other payne than that, dyd then  
greeue my hand.

Nowv then, that my sute and request may be  
vvell knowne vnto yovv: for so muche as I am  
oute of hope, in short time to recouer & enioye  
my former libertie, so as I might personalie  
speake vnto yovv, And vvhether happilie I  
shall once at lengthe speake vnto yovv in this  
vvorld, no morrall man doeth knowv: In the  
meane season I humblye submitt my selfe vnto  
yovv, & (suppliāthe kneeling) I beseeche yovv,  
to doe, and dispose for me, and of me, as shall  
seme good to youre vvifdoms And vvith an hū-  
ble mynd moste hartilie I craue, that (yf it may  
be in my absens) it vvold please yovv to admit  
me into your Societie, & to regester and inrole  
me among yovv: that so, vvith humble men I  
may haue a sense and feling of humilitie, vvith  
deuoute men I may founde out a lovve, the  
lauds and prayses of God, and continually ren-  
der thanks to hym, for his benefits: and then  
after, being ayded by the prayers of many, I may  
tūne more safelie to the marke vvich I shoote  
at, and vvith oute perill attaine to the price that  
is promised.

And I am not ignorant that the snares & vvi-  
les of oure aunciēt enemie are infinite: for he is  
the slye serpēt, vvich lyeth in the shadovv, of  
vvoods, vvynndyng, vvhirlyng, & turning aboute

many vvayes:and vvith his vviles & subtil shifts,  
he attempteth meruailouſlie to delude & abuſe  
the ſoules of the ſimple,vvwhich vvant a faithfull  
guyde:in ſo much,as it is not vvithoute cauſe,  
that vve are admoniſhed,to trie the ſpirits,yf  
they be of God.To yovv therfore,bicauſe you  
are ſpirituall,and accuſtomed to this kinde of  
conſlict,I commend all this buſineſſe:befeching  
yovv euen by the bovvelles of gods mercy that  
you vvold vouchefe to direct me vvith your  
counſaile and vvifdome. And yf in youre fight  
yt ſeme profitable,for more honor to God,mor-  
re cōmoditie to his churche,and eternall ſalua-  
tion to my ſoule,that I be preferred to that So-  
cietie of the moſt holie name of Ieſus:then pre-  
ſently before god,and in the court of my con-  
ſcience,I do promiſe obedience,to all and ſin-  
gular rectors,& gouernours eſtabliſhed all re-  
die,or to be hereafter eſtabliſhed,and likevvyle  
to all rules,or lawves receiued in this ſocietie,  
to the vttermoſte of my pōvver,and ſo farre as  
God doeth geue me grace:God is my vvitneſſe,  
and this my ovvn hand vvriting ſhal be a testi-  
monie hereof in the day of Iudgement. As for  
the health of my bodye,yovv haue no cauſe to  
doubt,for novv vvell nere I have recouered my  
former ſtrengthe and hardneſſe,by gods help,&  
I vvax euery day ſtronger than other. Thus in  
all other things cōmending my ſelfe to youre  
prayers,I byd yovv farevvell in oure Lorde,ca-  
refullye expecting vvhat yovv thinke good to  
determin of me.

Vale.



THE TRANSLATOR TO THE  
gentle reader.

**S**Ince the printing of this epistle last rehearsed, I haue heard that the Author thereof vvas one Maister Briāt, vvho latelie suffered(as is sayd)vvith Maister Campian, and Maister Shervvyn, three moſte blessed and fortunate men: vvhoſe happ hathe bene after ſo many torments and tortures ſuffred for gods cauſe, to ſcale vvith their innocent blood, the truthe, vvliche they taught vvith ſo much payn and daungers before. Now Maister briāt hathe more than his deſire, being ioyned ī ſocietie vvith Ieſus hym ſelfe, to vvhoſe holie name he ſo muche coueted to dedicate his lyfe in this vvørlde, as appeareth by this his epistle. And I dovvbt not, but that it vvas a ſingular comfort vnto hym to ſuffer in the companie of good father Campian, ſo rare a man of that Societie, vvhereof he deſired ſo greatlie to be a member vvhiles he liued.

Hovv farr all treaſon, and other diſorder of lyfe, vvas from the harts, hands, and vvords of theſe Innocent men, and the reſt vvich vvẽre condemned vvith them, all they can teſtifie vvliche euer knevv them, or liued vvith them: for that their vvords and exhortations, vvẽre all vvaysto the cōtrarye, in deteſtation of all vice, and in commendation of vertuouſe lyfe, vvith contempt of the vvorld, and humbly ſuffring all troubles and'perſecutions for Chriſte his ſake, adding alvvayes, that Catholiques muſt rather loue, & hartilie praye for their per-

secutors, than seeke any vway to hurt them, or to reuenge their selues vpon them, if it lay in their pouer. This haue I hearde, and so haue thovvsands mo<sup>o</sup> in Englād besydes me, and no mā liuinge (I know) dyd euer heare from their movvthes the contrarie. Their lyues also vvere suche in all secret austeritie of discipline to them selues: as he that had knowne thē, vvolde litle beleue, that they vvere men to attempt suche matters, as they vvere charged vwithall.

Yf these men had bene guiltie of suche horrible treasons: they should neuer haue bene so dallied vwith all, first in disputatiōs, and muche lesse should they haue had lyfe, libertie, and fauour offred them, for onelie yeelding to goe to churche, as maister Campian opēlie affirmed that they often had, and amongst many, named one of some accompt there present (as it vvas crediblie told me) vvhich had offered the same to hym vwith terrible threatens, not onelie of deathe, but also of renting of his nayles from his fyngars vwith pynnes, yf he yeelded not therunto.

Again, their ioyfull acceptation of Iudgement, and thanks geuing to God for the same, vwith their seuerall and mo<sup>o</sup>te vehement protestation, there made at the barre, after their condemnation, doeth declare sufficientlie the clearenesse of their cōsciēces. For then, and there, Maister Campian protested before God and his angells, heauen and earthe, the vworld and that Iudgement Seate there present, vvhiche (as he trulie sayde) vvas but a litle figure of the mo<sup>o</sup>te dredefull Iudgemēt seat of God, before vvhich



he to his greate ioye expected shortlie to be presented: he protested (I say vpon eternall perdition of his Soule, that he vvas moſte innocēt, guiltleſſe, and vnnvitting of all and ſingular the matters in that inditement alleiged, and of euerie part and parcell thereof. Maister Shervvyn protested vvith like vehemencie, that yf euer his heade did imagin, or his hart cōceiued, or his tongue vttered, or his hand attēpted, any thing againſt his ſoueraigne ladie Quene Elizabeth, or againſt any of her honorable Councell, or againſt the common vvealthe, or realme of England: he renounced there his portion in heauen, and deſired God, as a iuſt Iudge to dāne hym bothe in bodie and ſovvle to the eternall darkneſſe and torments of hell fire. And vvhen he had done, he cried oute: O happie and bleſſed day that euer he vvas borne. The like dyd the reſt, vvwhich vv ere condemned vvith hym, forgeuing openlie their falſe accuſars there preſent, and prayeing to God for them.

Novv lett anie man thevv to me, that euer traitour dyed ſo, or that a guiltie conſcience, dothe yelde ſuche cōfidence, vvhen they knevv novv that there vvas no vvaye vvith them but deathe.

VVell, God be bleſſed for them: and ſurelie his holye name hathe bene greatlie glorified by them.

VVhat ſtraunge torments and other extremities they haue ſuffred before they came to die, he alone knowveth, and vve heare onlie of ſome part thereof, for vve ſee they vv ere not men to complain of euerie thing done to them,

but vvere content to put it vp in secret ; vvith hope to receiue their revuarde at his hand.

Yet yf vve had not heard of their seuerall & often rackings: maister Campian his cōming to the barre vvith his handes folden in linnen clothe, and vvith that feblenessse , as he vvas neyther able to pluck of his ovvne mytton of freese nor lyft a cupp of drink to his mouthe vvithoute helpe, may vvell shew hovv he had bene handled. Oure lorde shew his tourmentours more mercie at the day of his Iudgement, than they haue shewed hym. Hovv mans nature had bene able to beare ovvte so great rigour & extremities, as they haue passed, (except Gods holie grace had bene plētifull vnto them ) I doe not see. And that oure lorde dyd concurr vvith extraordinarie comfort, in their torments, it may appeare in this epistle goinge before of Maister Briant : vvhom Maister Norton the Rackemaister ( yf he be not misreported ) vaunted in the court to haue pulled one good foote longer than euer God made hym and yet in the myddes of all he seemed to care nothing , and therfore ovvte of doubt (sayth he ) he had a deuill vvithin hym. But vvwhether it be a more propertie to the deuill to suffer patiently, or to torment other men mercylessie, maister Briant and maister Norton shall dispute the matter one day, vvhen deuills shall be at hand to beare vvitnessse, and the Iudge bothe of deuills. and deuellish men, shall be at hand to geue sentence. In the meane space I beseeche God to accept the Innocent bloode of his vertuouse preests, for some part of pacifi-

cation of his vvrathe towards vs, and towards  
oure persecutors, that they hauing the miste of  
errour taken from their eyes, may see the tru-  
the of Christs Catholique religion, for pro-  
fessing vvhenceof, they afflict vs so gre-  
uouſlie as he seeth, to vvhose eyes al  
iniuries do lye open, and to vvhose  
onelye Iudgement, vve leaue  
oure cause and doeings to  
be tryed and discerned,  
vvhē it shall seme  
moſte conuenient  
to his diuine  
maieſtie.  
Amen.

**FINIS.**



